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A

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS

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THE HIGHLAND CLANS,

BY

JAMES BROWNE, Esq., LL.D., ADVOCATE.

Author of "Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Égypte et les progrès faits jusqu' à présent dans leur Déchiffrement,"
"A Critical Examination of Dr M'Culloch's Book on the Highlands," &c. &c.

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The Author of the "History of the English Nation"

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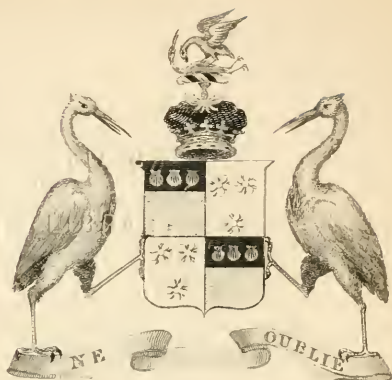


John Erskine Earl of Mar

*Engraved by L. Freeman
from a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.*



Campbell, Duke of Argyll.



Graham, Duke of Montrose.



Duke of Rutland.



Duke of Devon.



Duke of Devon.



Duke of Devon.

A

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS.

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CHAPTER I.

The king rejects certain propositions made to him—Conduct of the Scots army and commissioners, in regard to the delivery of the king—Communicates with the marquis of Huntly about an escape—Return of the Scots army from England—Huntly retires to Lochaber—Pursued by David Leslie—March of Leslie to the south—Encamps in Strathallan—Advances into Argyle and Kintyre—Defeats Sir Alexander Macdonald, who flies into Ila—Surrender of Dunaivertie castle—Garrison perfidiously put to the sword—Leslie lands in Ila—Surrender of Dunniveg castle—Apprehension and execution of Macdonald's father. Leslie lands in Jura, and afterwards in Mull—Conduct of the chief of Maclean—Apprehension of Huntly—Rising of his vassals—Irish prisoners shot at Strathbogy—Huntly imprisoned in the jail of Edinburgh—Execution of Innermarkie, Newton-Gordon, the younger, and Harthill—Hamilton's Engagement—Warlike proceedings of the Scots parliament in behalf of the king—Argyle obstructs the levies—Defeat of a body of insurgents at Mauchline—Departure of Lord Reay for Denmark—March of Hamilton to the borders—Defeat of the royalists at Preston—Rising of Covenanters in the west—They enter Edinburgh—Capture of Stirling by the royalists, and flight of Argyle—Cromwell arrives in Edinburgh—Struggles in the English parliament between the Presbyterians and independents—Trial and execution of the king—Execution of the duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Huntly.

As soon as the news of the flight of the king reached London, the greatest agitation prevailed; and the two great parties—the Presbyterians and Independents—each of which was struggling for ascendancy, became even still more distrustful of one another; but when they ascertained the place of his retreat, they joined in reprobating the conduct of the Scots, who, they erroneously supposed, had induced the king to put himself in their power. The possession of the royal person had been long desired by both factions as of paramount importance in paving the way for the accomplishment of their respective objects; but the unexpected step which the king had just taken seemed to render their prospects for ever hopeless. But they soon found that the case was not so bad as they had imagined for the king was not only prevailed upon to order his officers to surrender the fortresses which they still retained, but to become a suppliant for peace by requesting both houses of parliament to offer him propositions for consideration.

Some of these propositions were, however, such as the king could not, in conscience, submit to, and others were quite incompatible with monarchical government. The refusal of the king to agree to these conditions, one of which stipulated the establishment of the Directory, and the recognition of the Westminster Confession, while it displeased the presbyterian party, inspired the independents with fresh hopes, and the latter now began to indicate pretty plainly their intention of de-throning the king. While the two houses were engaged in new deliberations, in consequence of the king's refusal to accede, the chancellor

(London), the marquis of Argyle, and the earl of Dunfermline, who had offered to the king to go up to London, and treat with the parliament for a mitigation of the propositions, arrived in London; but, as the royalists had observed, it was soon seen "that their treating would end in a bargain;"* for, although professing themselves great sticklers for the freedom, honour, and safety of the king, they not only offered to concur in any measures that parliament might propose, should the king remain obstinate, but offered to withdraw the Scots army from England, on receiving payment of the arrears of pay due to the army for its services. Such an offer was too tempting to be withstood; and a committee having been appointed to adjust the balance due to the Scots, it was finally agreed by the latter, after many charges on both sides had been disallowed,† to accept of £400,000 in full of all demands, one moiety of which was to be paid before the Scots army left England and the other after its return to Scotland.

Whatever may have been the understanding between the Scots commissioners and the English parliament as to the disposal of the king, it is certain that in fixing the terms on which the Scots army should retire from England, that question was left quite open for discussion, as is sufficiently instructed by the subsequent vote of the two houses, that the right of disposing of the king belonged to the parliament of England, a vote which "gave birth to a controversy unprecedented in history,"‡ and which threatened to involve the two nations in war. To say, therefore, that the Scots nation sold their king is a foul calumny, refuted by the whole history of the transactions which preceded the delivery of the king to the English parliamentary commissioners, for although a majority of the persons who attended the Scottish parliament complied with the demand of the English parliament for possession of the king's person, a virtuous minority, with whom was the great bulk of the nation, voted against it. A celebrated historian who may be supposed very impartial in his views of the conduct of the Scots on this occasion, because opposed to the common opinion of his countrymen, thus defends the Scottish nation from the charge in question. "The royalists ever since the king's visit to Newark, had viewed with anxiety and terror the cool calculating policy of the Scots. The result converted their suspicions into certitude: they hesitated not to accuse them of falsehood and perfidy, and to charge them with having allured the king to their army by deceitful promises, that, Judas-like, they might barter him for money with his enemies. Insinuations so injurious to the character of the nation ought not to be lightly admitted. That fanaticism and self-interest had steeled the breasts of the covenanters against the more generous impulses of loyalty and compassion, may indeed be granted; but more than this cannot be legitimately inferred from any proof furnished by history. 1^{mo}. The

* Guthry.

† Amongst the many items set up by the English parliament against the claims of the Scots, there was one, according to Bishop Guthry, of £80,000 sterling, "for the cabbage the Scots had devoured!!!"

‡ Lingard, vol. vi. p. 556.

despatches of Montrevil make it evident that the verbal engagement of the commissioners at London was disavowed by the commissioners with the army before Newark; that the king was officially informed that it would never be carried into execution; and that, if he afterwards sought an asylum among the Scots, he was not drawn thither by their promises, but driven by necessity and despair. 2^o If the delivery of the royal person, connected as it was with the receipt of £200,000, bore the appearance of a sale, it ought to be remembered, that the accounts between the two nations had been adjusted in the beginning of September; that, for four months afterwards, they never ceased to negotiate in favour of Charles; nor did they resign the care of his person till the votes of the English parliament compelled them to make the choice between compliance and war. It may be, that in forming their decision their personal interest was not forgotten; but there was another consideration which had no small weight even with the friends of the monarch. It was urged, that by suffering the king to reside at Holmby, they would do away the last pretext for keeping on foot the army under the command of Fairfax; the dissolution of that army would annihilate the influence of the independents, and give an undisputed ascendancy to the presbyterians, the first, the declared enemies, the others the avowed advocates of Scotland, of the kirk, and of the king; and the necessary consequence must be, that the two parliaments would be left at liberty to arrange in conformity with the covenant, both the establishment of religion and the restoration of the throne.”*

While the negotiations for the delivery of the king were pending, Charles, who seems to have been fully aware of them, meditated the design of escaping from the Scots army, and putting himself at the head of such forces as the marquis of Huntly could raise in the north. In pursuance of this design, his majesty, about the middle of December, sixteen hundred and forty-six, sent Robert Leslie, brother of General David Leslie, with letters and a private commission to Huntly, by which he was informed of his majesty's intentions, and Huntly was, therefore, desired to levy what forces he could, and have them in readiness to take the field on his arrival in the north. On receipt of his majesty's commands, Huntly began to raise forces, and having collected them at Banff, he fortified the town, and there awaited the king's arrival.† But the king was prevented from putting his plan into execution by a premature discovery. It is stated by Guthry that Leslie and his committee having begun to talk of confining his majesty, and “that it might be handsomely done, and upon some shew of reason, William Murray, of the bed-chamber, furnished a pretext, suggesting privately to his majesty something concerning an escape, and offering to make his way, and have a ship in readiness to transport him.” He then observes that it is uncertain “what entertainment his majesty gave

* Lingard, vol. vi.

† Gordon's Continuation, p. 536.

to the motion," but that, "before the time came which William Murray had set, it was so divulged that there was no other discourse throughout the army but of William Murray's plot to carry away the king; and thereupon, a guard of soldiers was presently planted at his chamber-door, both within and without; whereby his majesty was not only deprived of liberty, but also of quiet and retirement; and having an antipathy against tobacco, was much perplexed by reason of their continual smoking by him."* Although Murray, who, upon the discovery, retired to London, was imprisoned at the instigation of the Scots commissioners for planning the king's escape, yet it was believed by the "malignants" to be a mere pretence to deceive the king, whom they supposed he had betrayed in the expectation that should his majesty be again induced to trust him he might render them farther service.†

After the delivery of the king to the English, on the twenty-eighth day of January, one thousand six hundred and forty-seven, the Scots army returned to Scotland. It was thereupon remodelled and reduced, by order of the parliament, to six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, a force which was considered sufficient not only to keep the royalists in awe, but also to reduce the marquis of Huntly and Sir Alexander Macdonald, who were still at the head of some forces. The dispersion, therefore, of the forces under both these commanders became the immediate object of the parliament. An attempt had been made in the month of January, sixteen hundred and forty-seven, by a division of the covenanting army stationed in Aberdeenshire, under the command of Major Bickerton, to surprise the marquis of Huntly at Banff, but he had been obliged to retire with loss; and Huntly continued to remain in his position till the month of April, when, on the approach of General David Leslie with a considerable force, he fled with a few friends to the mountains of Lochaber for shelter. Leslie thereupon reduced the castles belonging to the marquis. He first took that of Strathbogie, and sent the commander thereof, the laird of Newton-Gordon, to Edinburgh, then the castle of Lesmore; and lastly, the Bog of Gicht, or Gordon castle, the commander of which, James Gordon of Letterfurie, and his brother, Thomas Gordon of Clastirin, and other gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were sent to Edinburgh as prisoners. Leslie next took the isle of Lochanner, in Aboyne, which had been fortified by Huntly.‡ Quarter was given to the men who garrisoned those different strengths, with the exception of the Irish and deserters, who were hanged immediately on their capture.§

Having taken these different places, Leslie next marched into Badenoch, in quest of the marquis, where he captured the castle of Ruthven. From thence he proceeded into Lochaber, and took the fortress of Inverlochy. The covenanting general, thereupon, marched to the south with

* Memoirs, p. 185.

† Ibid.

‡ Gordon's Continuation, p. 537.

§ Guthrie.

a part of his forces, leaving the remainder in the north, under the command of Middleton, and encamped in Strathallan, he himself taking up his head quarters in Dunblane. Here he remained till the middle of May, when he was joined by the marquis of Argyle, and ordered to advance into that nobleman's country to drive out Sir Alexander Macdonald. Accordingly, he began his march on the seventeenth of May, and arrived at Inverary on the twenty-first. Sir Alexander Macdonald was at this time in Kintyre, with a force of about fourteen hundred foot and two troops of horse, which would have been fully sufficient to have checked Leslie, but he seems not to have been aware of the advance of Leslie, and had taken no precautions to guard the passes leading into that peninsula, which might have been successfully defended by a handful of men against a considerable force. Having secured these difficult passes, Leslie advanced into Kintyre, and after skirmishing the whole of the twenty-fifth of May with Macdonald, he forced him to retire. After throwing three hundred men into a fortress on the top of the hill of Dunavertie, and in which "there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds,"* Macdonald, on the following day, embarked his troops in boats provided for the occasion, and passed over into Ila.

Leslie, thereupon, laid siege to the castle of Dunavertie, which was well defended; but the assailants having carried a trench at the bottom of the hill which gave the garrison the command of water, and in the storming of which the besieged lost forty men, the latter craved a parley, in consequence of which Sir James Turner, Leslie's adjutant-general, was sent to confer with the garrison on the terms of surrender. Leslie would not grant "any other conditions than that they should yield on discretion or mercy. And it seemed strange to me (continues Sir James Turner) to hear the lieutenant-general's nice distinction, that they should yield themselves to the kingdom's mercy, and not to his. At length they did so, and after they were come out of the castle, they were put to the sword, every mother's son, except one young man, Maccoul, whose life I begged to be sent to France, with a hundred fellows which we had smoked out of a cave, as they do foxes, who were given to Captain Campbell, the chancellor's brother."† This atrocious act was perpetrated at the instigation of John Nave or Neaves, "a bloody preacher,"‡ but, according to Wodrow, an "excellent man," who would not be satisfied with less than the blood of the prisoners. As the account given by Sir James Turner, an eye-witness of this infamous transaction, is curious, no apology is necessary for inserting it. "Here it will be fit to make a stop, till this cruel action be canvassed. First, the lieutenant-general was two days irresolute what to do. The marquis of Argyle was accused at his arraignment of this murder, and I was examined as a witness. I declared, which was true, that I never heard him advise the lieutenant-general to it. What he did in private

* Turner's Memoirs.

† Ibid.

‡ Guthry.

I know not. Secondly, Argyle was but a colonel then, and he had no power to do it of himself. Thirdly, though he had advised him to it, it was no capital crime; for counsel is no command. Fourthly, I have several times spoke to the lieutenant-general to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it, and I know of himself he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthly, Mr John Nave (who was appointed by the commission of the kirk to wait on him as his chaplain) never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed, yea, and threatened him with the curses befell Saul for sparing the Amalekites, for with them his theology taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verily believe that this prevailed most with David Leslie, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the kirk of Scotland." The statement of Sir James and David Leslie's repugnance to shed the blood of those defenceless men is fully corroborated by Bishop Guthrie, on the authority of many persons who were present, who says that while the butchery was going on, and while Leslie, Argyle, and Neaves were walking over the ancles in blood, Leslie turned out and thus addressed the latter:—"Now, Mr John, have you not once got your fill of blood?" The sufferers on this occasion were partly Irish, and partly belonging to the clan Dougal or Coull, to the castle of whose chief, in Lorne, Colonel Robert Montgomerie now laid siege, while Leslie himself, with a part of his forces, left Kintyre for Ila in pursuit of Macdonald.

On landing in Ila, Leslie found that Macdonald had fled to Ireland, and had left Colkittoch, his father, in the castle of Dunniveg, with a force of two hundred men to defend the island against the superior power of Leslie. The result turned out as might have been anticipated. Although the garrison made a brave resistance, yet, being wholly without water, they found themselves unable to resist, and offered to capitulate on certain conditions. These were, that the officers should be entitled to go where they pleased, and that the privates should be sent to France. These conditions were agreed to, and were punctually fulfilled. Old Colkittoch had, however, the misfortune not to be included in this capitulation, for, before the castle had surrendered, "the old man, Coll, (says Sir James Turner) coming foolishly out of the house, where he was governor, on some parole or other,* to speak with his old friend, the captain of Dunstaffnage castle, was surprised, and made prisoner, not without some stain to the lieutenant-general's honour. He was afterwards hanged by a jury of Argyle's sheriff-depute, one George Campbell, from whose sentence few are said to have escaped that kind of death."

Leaving Ila, Leslie "boated over to Jura, a horrible isle (says Sir James Turner), and a habitation fit for deer and wild beasts; and so from isle to isle (continues he) till he came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Here MacLaine saved his lands, with the loss of

* Spalding says that, Col Kittoch came out of the castle to treat for a surrender on an assurance of personal safety.

his reputation, if he ever had any. He gave up his strong castles to Leslie, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelity, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen prettie Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the lieutenant-general, who immediately caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Maclaine, but inexcusable ill done in him to betray them. Here I cannot forget one Donald Campbell, fleshed in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence pressed that the whole clan Maclaine should be put to the edge of the sword; nor could he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the lieutenant-general and two major-generals; and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief, the marquis of Argyle. For my part, I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his suit, the delivery of the Irish had so irritated me against that whole clan and name."

While Leslie was thus subduing the Hebrides, Middleton was occupied in pursuing the marquis of Huntly through Glen-moriston, Badenoch, and other places, who was at length captured by Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies, in Strathdon, in the month of December, sixteen hundred and forty-seven. Having received intelligence of the place of the marquis's retreat, Menzies came to Dalnabo with a select body of horse, consisting of three troops, about midnight, and immediately entered the house just as Huntly was going to bed. The marquis was attended by only ten gentlemen and servants, as a sort of body-guard, who, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, made a brave attempt to protect the marquis, in which six of them were killed and the rest mortally wounded, among whom was John Grant, the landlord. On hearing that the marquis had been taken prisoner, the whole of his vassals in the neighbourhood, to the number of between four and five hundred, with Grant of Carron at their head, flew to arms to rescue him. Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies thereupon carried the Marquis to the castle of Blairfindie, in Glenlivet, about four miles from Dalnabo, where the marquis received a notice from Grant and his party by the wife of Gordon of Munmore, that they had solemnly sworn that they would either rescue him or die to a man, and they requested him to give them such orders to carry their plan into effect as he might judge proper. But the marquis dissuaded his people from the intended attempt, and returned for answer that, now almost worn out with grief and fatigue, he could no longer live in hills and dens; and hoped that his enemies would not drive things to the worst; but, if such was the will of heaven, he could not outlive the sad fate he foresaw his royal master was likely to undergo; and be the event as it would, he doubted not but the just providence of God would restore the royal family, and his own along with it.*

* Gordon's History of the Family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 516.

Besides the gentlemen and servants about Huntly's person, there were some Irish who were quartered in the offices about Dalnabo. These were carried prisoners by Menzies to Strathbogy, where Middleton then was, who ordered them all to be shot, a sentence which was carried into immediate execution.* In consequence of an order from the committee of estates at Edinburgh, Menzies carried the marquis under a strong guard of horse to Leith, where, after being kept two days, he was delivered up to the magistrates, and incarcerated in the jail of the city. The committee had previously debated the question whether the marquis should be immediately executed or reprieved till the meeting of parliament, but although the Argyle faction, notwithstanding the marquis of Argyle withdrew before the vote was taken, and the committee of the church did every thing in their power to procure the immediate execution of the marquis, his life was spared till the meeting of the parliament by a majority of one vote.† The earl of Aboyne and Lord Lewis Gordon had the good fortune to escape to the continent. The first went to France, where he shortly thereafter died—the second took refuge in Holland. A reward of £1,000 sterling had been promised to any person who should apprehend Huntly, and for payment of which sum Menzies accordingly obtained an order, on sixth January, sixteen hundred and forty-eight, from the committee of estates.‡

It has been made the ground of a charge by the author of the history of the family of Gordon against Hamilton and Argyle, "to whom Huntly trusted so much," that they were "the first signers" of this order; but there seems to be really no room for accusation on this score, as these two noblemen merely signed the document in the order of precedence of rank before the rest of the committee. However, there seems to be no doubt that Argyle felt a malignant gratification at the capture of Huntly, and it is related by Spalding, that taking advantage of Huntly's situation, Argyle bought up all the comprisings on Huntly's lands, and that he caused summon at the market-cross of Aberdeen by sound of trumpet, all Huntly's wadsetters and creditors to appear at Edinburgh in the month of March following Huntly's imprisonment, calling on them to produce their securities before the lords of session, with certification that if they did not appear, their securities were to be declared null and void. Some of Huntly's creditors sold their claims to Argyle, and having thus bought up all the rights he could obtain upon Huntly's estate at a small or nominal value, under the pretence that he was acting for the benefit of his nephew, Lord Gordon, he granted bonds for the amount which, according to Spalding, he never paid. In this way did Argyle possess himself of the marquis's estates, which he continued to enjoy upwards of twelve years; viz., from six-

* Spalding.

† Guthrie, p. 207.

‡ See the Act of Sederunt of the committee in the appendix to Gordon's History of the family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 357.

teen hundred and forty-eight, till the restoration of Charles II. in sixteen hundred and sixty.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in Carisbrook castle, heard of the capture of Huntly, he wrote the following letter to the earl of Lanark, then in London, in favour of the marquis:—*

“LANERK.—Hearing that the marquis of Huntly is taken, and knowing the danger that he is in, I both strictly command you as a master, and earnestly desire you as a friend, that you will deal effectually with all those whom you have any interest in, for the saving of his life. It were, I know, lost time to use arguments to you for this, wherefore, I judge these lines necessary to add to your power, though not to your willingness, to do this most acceptable service for,

“Your most assured, real, constant friend,

“CHARLES R.”

CARISBROOK, }
17th December, 1647. }

The earl, either from unwillingness or inability, appears to have paid no attention to this letter.

Shortly before the capture of the marquis of Huntly, John Gordon of Innermarkie, Gordon, younger of Newton-Gordon, and the laird of Harthill, three of his chief friends, had been taken prisoners by Major-General Middleton, and sent to Edinburgh, where they were imprisoned. The two latter were condemned to die by the committee of estates, and although their friends procured a remission of the sentence from the king, they were, notwithstanding, both beheaded at the market-cross of Edinburgh. Harthill suffered on the twenty-sixth of October, sixteen hundred and forty-seven, and Newton-Gordon a few days thereafter.

While the hopes of the royalists, both in England and Scotland, seemed to be almost extinguished, a ray of light, about this time, darted through the dark gloom of the political horizon, which they fondly imagined was the harbinger of a new and a better order of things; but all their expectations were destined to end in bitter disappointment. The king, who had hitherto alternately intrigued with the Presbyterians and Independents, that he might circumvent both, was now induced by the Scots commissioners, who had repaired to Carisbrook castle, to break with the Independents, by refusing the royal assent to four bills,†

* Burnet's *Hamiltons*, p. 323.

† According to Clarendon, (*History*, vol. iii. p. 88,) the king was, by one of these bills, to have confessed himself the author of the war, and guilty of all the blood which had been spilt; by another, he was to dissolve the government of the church, and grant all lands belonging to the church to other uses; by a third, to settle the militia without reserving so much power to himself as any subject was capable of; and in the last place he was in effect to sacrifice all those who had saved him, to the mercy of the parliament. But Dr Lingard has shown how little credit is due to these assertions, by giving the substance of these bills. The first, after vesting the command of the army in the par-

which the two houses of parliament had prepared; and to enter into a treaty with the Presbyterians, by which the king agreed to the establishment of Presbyterianism, but only as an experiment for three years. Although the terms of this treaty were more favourable to the king than those in the bills which he rejected, his friends were sorry that his majesty had refused to accede to the latter, as they had no confidence in those with whom he had contracted. But the treaty was not less disagreeable to his majesty's friends than to his bitterest enemies, for no sooner had the committee of the kirk received notice of it than they remonstrated against it; and when the Scots parliament met in March, sixteen hundred and forty-eight, the ministers, Douglas, Dick, Blair, Cant, Livingston, and Gillespie, and the laird of Dundas, Sir James Stewart and George Winram, ruling elders, presented a declaration against the treaty, which they considered destructive of the covenant. Notwithstanding the opposition on the part of the kirk, and of Argyle and his party, and the money and intrigues of the English commissioners who had been sent to Scotland to watch the proceedings of the king's party, the duke of Hamilton, who had lately formed an association to release the king from his captivity, which went under the name of the "Engagement," prevailed upon the parliament to appoint a committee of danger, and to consent to a levy of forty thousand men.

The time seemed propitious for the interests of the king. The bulk of the English population, with the exception of the army, had grown quite dissatisfied with the state of matters, and they now began to perceive, when too late, that they had only exchanged one system of tyranny for one still more insupportable, the despotism of a standing army led by needy and unprincipled adventurers. In short, the people, disgusted by military exactions, and dreading an abolition of the monarchy, sighed for the restoration of the king, as the only means of delivering them from the tyranny under which they groaned. The eyes of the English nation were now directed towards Scotland, and the news of the Scots' levy made them indulge a hope that they would soon be enabled, by the aid of the Scots auxiliaries, to throw off the military yoke, and restore the king on conditions favourable to liberty. But Hamilton, being thwarted by the Argyle faction, unfortunately had it not in his power to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the English people, and instead of raising forty thousand men, he found, to his great mortification, that, at the utmost, he could, after upwards

liament for twenty years, enacted, that after that period, whenever the lords and commons should declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, all bills passed by them respecting the forces by sea or land, should be deemed acts of parliament, even though the king, for the time being, should refuse his assent. The second declared all oaths, proclamations, and proceedings against the parliament during the war, void, and of no effect. The third annulled all titles of honour granted since the 20th of May, 1612, and deprived all peers, to be created hereafter, of the right of sitting in parliament, without the consent of the two houses: and the fourth gave to the houses the power of adjourning from place to place at their discretion. *Journals*, vol. ix. p. 575.—*Charles's Works*, 590—593.—*Lingard*, vol. vi. p. 595.

of three months' labour, only bring about fifteen thousand men into the field, and that not until several insurrections in England, in favour of the king, had been suppressed.

It was the misfortune of Hamilton that with every disposition to serve the cause of his royal master, he had neither the capacity to conceive, nor the resolution to adopt bold and decisive measures equal to the emergency of the times. Like the king, he too attempted to act the part of the cunning politician, but he was wholly unfitted for the performance of such a character. Had he had the address to separate old Leslie and his nephew from the party of Argyle, by placing the direction of military affairs in their hands, he might have succeeded in raising a sufficient force to cope with the parliamentary army of England; but he had the weakness, after both these generals had joined the kirk in its remonstrance to the parliament that nothing should be done without the consent of the committee of the general assembly, to get himself appointed commander-in-chief of the army, a measure which could not fail to disgust these hardy veterans. To conciliate the marquis of Argyle and his friends to the appointment, they were made colonels in the shires where they lived for the purpose of raising the levies which had been voted. Instead, however, of assisting, they, on their return home, did every thing in their power to obstruct the levies. The marquis of Argyle, after despatching Major Strachan on a private embassy to Cromwell to send a party to Scotland to assist him in opposing the measures of the duke, went from Edinburgh to Fife, where he induced the gentry not only to oppose the levies, but to hold themselves in readiness to rise on the other side when called upon. He was not so successful in Stirlingshire, none of the gentlemen of that county concurring in his views except the laird of Buchanan, Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, and a few persons of inferior note; but in Dumbartonshire he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes. After attending a meeting with the lord chancellor, (Loudon,) the earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, and David Dick and other ministers, at Eglinton's house, on the twenty-ninth of May, Argyle went home to his own country to raise his people against his sovereign.

Several instances of opposition to the levy took place; but the most formidable one, and the only one worthy of notice, was in Ayrshire, where a body of armed insurgents, to the number of eight hundred horse and twelve hundred foot according to one writer,* and five hundred horse and two thousand foot according to another,† headed by several ministers, assembled at Mauchline; but they were defeated and dispersed by Middleton, who had been appointed lieutenant-general of horse, on the tenth of June, with the loss of eighty men.

There are no data by which to ascertain the number of men raised in the Highlands for Hamilton's army; but it must necessarily have been

* Baillie.

† Guthry.

very inconsiderable. Not a single man was of course raised in Argyle-shire, and scarcely any in the adjoining part of Inverness-shire, to which the influence or power of Argyle extended. The earl of Sutherland, who had been appointed a colonel of foot in his own division, declined the office, and Lord Reay was so disgusted with "Duke Hamilton's failure," that he took shipping at Thurso in the month of July that year, and went to Norway,* where he was appointed governor of Bergen, and received the colonelcy of a regiment from the king of Denmark, whom he had formerly served. The only individual who could have benefitted the royal cause in the north was the marquis of Huntly, but by a strange fatality the duke of Hamilton, who could have easily procured an order from the parliament for his liberation from prison, allowed him to continue in prison, and merely contented himself with obtaining a warrant for changing the marquis's place of confinement from the jail to the castle of Edinburgh.

In consequence of the many difficulties which occurred in collecting his troops, and providing the necessary *materiel* for the use of the army, the duke was not able to begin his march till the eighth of July, on which day he put his army in motion towards the borders. His force, which amounted to about ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, was composed of raw and undisciplined levies, and he had not a single field-piece. He entered England by the western border, where he was met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and a body of four thousand brave cavaliers, all devotedly attached to the king. At this time Lambert, the parliamentary general, had invested Carlisle, and Hamilton was induced by the English royalists, contrary to his own views, to march upon Carlisle, and force Lambert to raise the siege. That general, who had received orders from Cromwell not to engage the Scots till he should join him, accordingly retired, and Carlisle was delivered up next day to Hamilton by the English royalists, who also put him in possession of Berwick.

With the forces now at his command, which were still farther augmented by the addition of a body of three thousand veterans, drawn from the Scottish army in Ireland, which joined him at Kendal under the command of Major-General Sir George Munro, the duke might have effected the restoration of the king had a combined plan of operations been agreed upon between him and his English allies; "but Hamilton, though possessed of personal courage, was diffident of his own powers, and resigned himself to the guidance of men who sacrificed the interests of the service to their private jealousies and feuds."† So controlled was the duke by these men, that he was not allowed to benefit by the advice of his English auxiliaries, and when they advised him to march through Yorkshire, the inhabitants of which were well affected to the king, the duke, to gratify the presbyterians, rejected their

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 541.

† Lingard, vol. vi. p. 606.

advice, and resolved to march through Lancashire, because the people there were generally attached to Presbyterianism. To please them still farther he would not allow the English royalists to unite with the Scots army, for fear of infringing an absurd law, which required that the allies of the Scots should take the covenant before being permitted to mix with them. The consequence was, that the two sections of the royalist army were kept so distinct and isolated, and at such an interval of space, that it became utterly impossible for them to co-operate or to act simultaneously. But, bad as the order of march was by which Langdale's forces were kept at an advance of twenty, and even sometimes of thirty miles a-head of the Scots army, it was rendered still worse by a difference between Munro and Callander, in consequence of which Munro was ordered to remain behind in Westmoreland to bring forward, according to Bishop Guthry, five pieces of cannon which were expected from Scotland.

The advance of Hamilton's army had been greatly checked by Lambert, who kept constantly skirmishing with the advanced guard of the Scots army with a large body of horse, and so slow were his motions, that forty days were spent in a march of eighty miles. The tardiness of the duke's motions enabled Cromwell, after reducing Pembroke, to effect a junction with Lambert in Yorkshire before the Scottish army had reached Preston, and although their united forces did not exceed nine thousand men, Cromwell, with characteristic promptitude, did not hesitate to attack the enemy. Cromwell being observed to march upon Clithero, where Langdale and his cavaliers were stationed, that officer fell back on the Scottish army near Preston, and sent notice to the duke to prepare for battle on the following day. The duke, however, disregarded the admonition. On the following morning, being the seventeenth of August, Cromwell attacked Langdale, and, although the forces of the former were almost twice as numerous as those of the latter, the royalists fought upwards of six hours with the most determined bravery, and it was not until their whole ammunition was spent, and the duke had, notwithstanding the most urgent solicitations from Langdale, declined to support them, that they were obliged to retreat into Preston. Here they were mortified to find that their allies had abandoned the town, and that the enemy were in possession of the bridge across the river. Langdale having now no alternative but flight, disbanded his infantry, and along with his cavalry and the duke, who, refusing to follow the example of his army, had remained in the town, swam across the Ribble.

The Scots army retired during the night towards Wigan, where it was joined by the duke next morning, but so reduced in spirits and weakened by desertion as to be quite unable to make any resistance to the victorious troops of Cromwell, who pressed hard upon them. The foot, under the command of Baillie, continued to retreat during the day, but were overtaken at Warrington, and, being unable either to proceed or to resist, surrendered. The number which capitulated amounted to

about three thousand. Upwards of six thousand had previously been captured by the country people, and the few who had the good fortune to escape joined Munro and returned to Scotland. These prisoners were sold as slaves, and sent to the plantations,—a striking instance of the horrors of civil war.

The duke, abandoning Baillie to his fate, carried off the whole cavalry; but he had not proceeded far when his rear was attacked by the parliamentary army. Middleton made a gallant defence, and was taken prisoner; but the duke escaped, and fled to Uttoxeter, followed by his horse, where he surrendered himself to general Lambert and the lord Grey of Groby, who sent him prisoner to Windsor. The earl of Callander, having effected his escape, went over to Holland, disgusted at the conduct of the duke.

As soon as the news of the defeat of Hamilton reached Scotland, the covenanters of the west began to bestir themselves, and a party of them, under the command of Robert Montgomery, son of the earl of Eglinton, attacked a troop of Lanark's horse, quartered in Ayrshire, killed some and routed the rest. The committee of estates, apprehensive that the spirit of insurrection would speedily spread, immediately ordered out all the fencible men in the kingdom to put down the rising in the west. A difference, however, arose in the committee in the choice of a commander. The earl of Lanark and the earl marischal were proposed by their respective friends. His chief opponent was the earl of Roxburghe, who, (says Wishart,) "in a grave and modest speech, earnestly entreated him, for the sake of their dear sovereign and their distressed country, not to insist in demanding that dignity, which was extremely unseasonable and ill-judged at that time. He told him, that, even before the late defeat, many were much offended at the expedition into England, and reckoned that it presaged no good, chiefly because his brother the duke was appointed general; whose fidelity in the management of the king's affairs not a few suspected, though he believed without any good ground; however, it could not be denied that he had always been unfortunate; and people's judgments, with respect to the conduct or misconduct of generals, are known to depend in a great measure, though indeed wrongously, upon their success. Though, for his own part, he said, he was ready to ascribe the loss of that gallant army under his brother, which was attended with such a disgrace to the nation, to the cowardice of others, or to inevitable misfortunes; yet it was sufficiently known, that most of the populace, whose good affections ought by all means to be obtained in this critical juncture, spoke and thought very differently concerning that affair from what it was proper for him to do. And if the earl of Lanark should succeed his brother the duke in that station, as they were already highly inflamed and exasperated, they would immediately exclaim, that the king and country were now utterly undone; that both the brothers were of the same mind; that they were swayed by the same motives; that they pursued the same courses; and all their

enterprises would undoubtedly terminate in the same unlucky manner; that we wanted not many other persons of quality, wise and brave men, and proper for action, whose ancestors have had the command of the king's armies, and in that post acquired no small honour and renown. It was, therefore, his opinion, that some of these should be invited, even against their own inclinations, to take upon them the command of the army; and, if it pleased the honourable meeting, he thought the first offer ought to be made to the earl marischal, whose family may be ranked among the first of Scotland, as having often distinguished itself by its loyalty and bravery; one who has a plentiful estate, in the flower of his age, not in the least suspected of faction and disloyalty; and, which is of itself no small recommendation in the present case, one who is not courting this preferment."* This significant speech had no effect upon Lanark, who, on a vote being taken, was found to have the majority, and so anxious was he to obtain the command of the army that he actually voted for himself.† He had even the indiscretion to declare, that he would not permit any other person to command in his brother's absence. This rash and imprudent behaviour on the part of Lanark so exasperated Roxburghe and his friends, who justly dreaded the utter ruin of the king's affairs, that they henceforth withdrew altogether from public affairs.

As soon as Lanark had been appointed to the command of the new levy, he set about raising it with great expedition. For this purpose he sent circulars, plausibly written, to every part of Scotland, calling upon all classes to join him without delay. These circulars had the desired effect. The people beyond the Forth, and even the men of Fife, showed a disposition to obey the call. The earl of Seaforth raised four thousand men in the western islands and in Ross-shire, which he brought south, and the earl of Morton also brought into Lothian twelve hundred men from the Orkneys. In short, with the exception of Argyle, there were few places in Scotland from which considerable bodies of men might not have been expected.

Before the defeat of Hamilton's army, Lanark had raised three regiments of horse, which were now under his command. These, with the accessions of force which were daily arriving from different parts of the kingdom, were quite sufficient to have put down the insurrection in the west; but instead of marching thither, Lanark, to the surprise of every person, proceeded through East Lothian towards the eastern borders to meet Sir George Munro, who was retiring upon Berwick before the army of Cromwell. The people of the west being thus relieved from the apprehensions of a visit, assembled in great numbers, and taking advantage of Lanark's absence, a body of them, to the number of no less than six thousand men, headed by the chancellor, the earl of Eglin-

* *Memoirs*, p. 311, et seq.

† *Guthry*, p. 327.

ton, and some ministers, advanced upon the capital, which they entered without opposition, the magistrates and ministers of the city welcoming their approach by going out to meet them. Bishop Wishart describes this body as "a confused rabble, composed of farmers, cowherds, shepherds, coblers, and such like mob, without arms, and without courage," and says, that when they arrived in Edinburgh, "they were provided with arms, which, as they were unaccustomed to, were rather a burden and incumbrance than of any use,"—that "they were mounted upon horses, or jades rather, which had been long used to the drudgery of labour, equipped with pack saddles and halters, in place of saddles and bridles."* This tumultuary body, however, was soon put into proper order by the earl of Leven, who was invested with the chief command, and by David Leslie, as his lieutenant-general, and presented a rather formidable appearance, for on Lanark's return from the south, he did not venture to engage it, though his force amounted to four or five thousand horse and as many foot, many of whom were veterans who had served in Ireland under Munro.

In thus declining, however, to attack Leslie, Lanark acted contrary to the advice of Munro and his other officers. According to Dr Wishart, Lanark's advanced guard, on arriving at Musselburgh, fell in with some of Leslie's outposts, who defended the bridge over the Esk, and Lanark's advanced guard, though inferior in number, immediately put them in great disorder, and killed some of them without sustaining any loss. This success was reported to Lanark, and it was represented to him, that by following it up immediately, while the enemy continued in the state of alarm into which this affair of outposts had thrown them, he might, perhaps, obtain a bloodless victory, and secure possession of the city of Edinburgh and the town of Leith, with all the warlike stores, before sunset. "And, indeed, (says Wishart) nobody doubted, that, had he complied with this advice, Scotland might have been totally recovered and reduced to the king's obedience. But in place of that, he refused to fight, and immediately ordered his troops, who had been hitherto victorious, to be called back, and, leaving the highway which leads to Edinburgh, marched off to the left. Both officers and soldiers, surprised at this unexpected course, began first to murmur, and soon after to exclaim aloud against him for losing this opportunity which, had it been embraced, might very soon have put a period to the war in Scotland."†

Leading his army along the base of the Pentland hills, Lanark proceeded to Linlithgow, which he entered on the evening of the eleventh of September, where he almost surprised the earl of Cassillis, who, at the head of eight hundred horse from Carrick and Galloway, had taken up his quarters there for the night; but a notice having been sent to him of

* Memoirs, p. 316.

† Ib. p. 317.

the earl of Lanark's approach by some friend, he fled precipitately to the Queensferry, leaving the supper which was cooking for him and his men on the fire, which repast was greedily devoured by Lanark's troops.

Ever since Lanark's march to the borders to meet Munro, the marquis of Argyle had been busily employed in raising men in his own territory to assist the insurgents, but it had been so much depopulated by the ravages of Montrose and Macdonald, that he could scarcely muster three hundred men. With these and four hundred more which he had collected in the Lennox and in the western part of Stirlingshire, he advanced to Stirling, which he entered upon the twelfth of September at eleven o'clock forenoon. After assigning to the troops their different posts in the town, and making arrangements with the magistrates for their support, Argyle went to dine with the earl of Mar at his residence in the town. But while the dinner was serving up, Argyle, to his infinite alarm, heard that a part of Lanark's forces had entered the town. This was the advanced guard, commanded by Sir George Munro, who, on hearing that Argyle was in possession of the town when only within two miles of it, had, unknown to Lanark, who was behind with the main body of the army, pushed forward and entered the town before Argyle's men were aware of his approach. Argyle, as usual, looked only to his own personal safety, and, therefore, immediately mounting his horse, galloped across Stirling bridge, and never looked behind till he reached the North Queensferry, where he instantly crossed the Frith in a small boat and proceeded to Edinburgh. Nearly two hundred of Argyle's men were either killed or drowned, and the remainder were taken prisoners.

The levies under the earl of Leven having been reinforced by some additional men from Fife and the southern shires, that general left Edinburgh in pursuit of Lanark, and arrived at Falkirk on the night of the twelfth of September. On intelligence being brought of Leslie's arrival, Munro proposed to Lanark and his friends, the earls of Lindsay and Glencairn, to attack Leslie next morning; but Munro's proposition was overruled, and instead of thanking him for the promptitude which he had displayed in capturing Stirling, they expressed disapprobation of his conduct, and Lindsay not being able to conceal the sorrow he felt at the occurrence, exclaimed, "Woes me! that I should ever have seen this unlucky and mischievous day!" The fact appears to be, that this triumvirate, who concealed all their plans from the open and unsuspecting soldier, had already thought of a treaty with the enemy, and they were afraid lest the unlucky occurrence of the day might so exasperate the parties "as to cut off all hope or inclination for the peace which they had projected."* Although Lanark and his committee had negatived Munro's proposal, yet being suspicious that he might himself attack Leslie, they sent all the horse across Stirling bridge, with instructions to

* Wishart.

quarter them along the north shore of the Frith of Forth, as far down as Burntisland. A negotiation for peace immediately ensued between the two parties, and on the fifteenth of September a treaty was entered into by which the Hamilton party agreed to refer all civil matters in dispute to a Parliament, to be held before the tenth of January, and all ecclesiastical affairs to an assembly of the kirk. It was also stipulated that both armies should be disbanded before the twenty-ninth of September, or at farthest on the fifth of October, that the adherents of the king should not be disturbed, and that all the prisoners taken in Scotland should be released. Munro perceiving that the king's affairs would be irretrievably ruined by this compromise, objected to the treaty, and would have stood out had he been backed by the other officers; but very few seconding his views, he addressed the troops, who had accompanied him from Ireland, in St Ninian's church, and offered to lead back such as were inclined to Ireland, to serve under their old commander major-general Robert Munro; but having received intelligence at Glasgow that that general had been taken prisoner and sent to London, he disbanded the troops who had followed him thither, and retired to Holland.

According to the treaty the two armies were disbanded on the appointed day, and the "Whigamores," as the insurgents from the west were called, returned immediately home to cut down their corn which was ready for the sickle. Argyle's men, who had been taken prisoners at Stirling, were set at liberty, and conducted home to their own country by one of Argyle's officers.

The marquis of Argyle, London the chancellor, and the earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, and others, now met at Edinburgh, and formed themselves into a body under the title of the Committee of Estates, and having arranged matters for the better securing their own influence, they summoned a parliament to meet on the fourth of January. In the meantime, Oliver Cromwell, who, after the pursuit of Munro, had laid siege to Berwick, was waited upon by Argyle, Lord Eleho, and Sir Charles Erskine, to compliment him upon his success at Preston, and after making Ludovick Leslie deliver up Berwick to him, they invited him and Lambert to Edinburgh. Cromwell took up his residence in the house of Lady Home in the Canongate, where he received frequent visits from Argyle, London, the earl of Lothian, the lords Arbutnot, Eleho, and Burleigh, and the most noted of the ministers. It is said, that during these conferences, Cromwell communicated to his visitors his intentions with respect to the king, and obtained their consent *

About this time a violent struggle took place in the English parliament between the presbyterians and independents about the late seizure of the king by the army. A treaty had been entered into between the king and fifteen commissioners from the parliament at Newport, in the

* Guthry.

month of September contrary to the wishes of the independents, whose designs upon the life of the king they were apprehensive it would frustrate. Colonel Ludlow, a fanatical member of the lower house, thinking that the death of Charles was absolutely necessary to appease the anger of God, first attempted to draw over Fairfax to his opinion, but having failed, he tampered with Ireton, another commander in the parliamentary army, and having succeeded, Ireton made his regiment petition the commander-in-chief, that all who were concerned in the late rebellion, whether high or low, without any distinction, should be punished according to their just deserts, "and that whosoever should speak or act in favour of the king before he had been acquitted of shedding innocent blood, should incur the penalties of treason."* This petition, which was put forth as a mere feeler to sound the dispositions of the army, was quickly followed by a petition from another regiment couched in stronger and more intelligible language, and which demanded that the king and his advisers should be brought to justice ; and condemned the treaty entered into with him as dangerous and unjust. These petitions were laid before a council of war, and the result was, that the officers assembled issued a remonstrance addressed to the House of Commons, requiring, *inter alia*, that "the capital and grand author of all the troubles and woes which the kingdom had endured, should be speedily brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief of which he had been guilty." The remonstrance was supported by the independents, but the presbyterians prevailed by a large majority in postponing consideration of the remonstrance till a distant day, and instructed the commissioners at Newport to bring the treaty with the king to a speedy conclusion.†

Thus disappointed in their views for the time, the independents prevailed upon Fairfax to order Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, to attend him at Windsor, and to send Colonel Eure with orders to seize the king at Newport, where he was conferring with the commissioners, and imprison him again in Carisbrook castle ; but Hammond having declined to allow Eure to interfere without an order from the parliament, Eure left the island without attempting to fulfil his instructions. Hammond, however, afterwards left the island with the commissioners, and committed the royal person to the custody of one Major Rolfe, a person who, only six months before, had been charged with a design on the life of the king, and who had escaped trial because only one witness had attested the fact before the grand jury.

The king seemed to be fully aware of the danger of his present situation, and on the morning of the twenty-eighth of November, when the commissioners left the island, he gave vent to his feelings in a strain of the most pathetic emotion, which drew tears from his attendants : "My lords," said he to the commissioners, "I believe we shall scarce ever see

* Lingard, vol. vi. p. 614.

† Journals of Commons, Nov. 20, 24, 30.

each other again, but God's will be done ! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know, that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of those who plot against me and mine ; but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends."* As soon as the commissioners and Hammond had quitted the island, Fairfax sent a troop of horse and a company of foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett, to seize the king, who received notice of the approach of this body and of its object next morning from a person in disguise ; but although advised by the duke of Richmond, the earl of Lindsay, and Colonel Coke to make his escape, which he could easily have accomplished, he declined to do so, because he considered himself bound in honour to remain twenty days after the treaty. The consequence was, that Charles was taken prisoner by Cobbett, and carried to Hurst castle.

The army having now got the king completely in their power, the council of officers issued a threatening declaration against the house of commons, and to support their pretensions to provide for the settlement of the kingdom and to punish the guilty, Fairfax quartered several regiments in London and the neighbourhood. This bold measure immediately brought the army and the presbyterian members of the house of commons, who were still the majority, into collision. Instead of being overawed by the army, as they had been in the year sixteen hundred and forty-six, the presbyterians protested against the seizure of the royal person, and carried by a large majority, after an animated debate which lasted, by adjournment, three days and a whole night, a resolution approving of the treaty of Newport. The firmness thus displayed by the presbyterian party was not to be endured by the army, which had now every thing in its power, and, accordingly, a resolution was taken by the officers to arrest the leading members, which was immediately carried into effect by the celebrated Colonel Pride. Many members of the presbyterian party seeing their friends thus illegally placed in confinement, retired into the country, and a "rump" only of about fifty members remained.

The person who was to act the principal part in the bloody tragedy which soon followed, was on his way home from Scotland during these proceedings, and arrived in London the day after the house of commons had been finally purged by Pride. Cromwell had now obtained the complete ascendancy in the army, and he perceived that the time had arrived for carrying his design upon the life of the king into execu-

* Appendix to Evelyn's Memoirs, ii. 123, 390. Clarendon, iii. 234.

tion. Accordingly, after the *purified* house of commons had passed a vote declaring that it was high treason in the king of England, for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England, his majesty was brought to trial before a tribunal erected *pro re nata* by the house called the high court of justice, which adjudged him "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of the nation, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body," a sentence which was carried into execution, in front of Whitehall, on the thirtieth of January sixteen hundred and forty-nine. The unfortunate monarch conducted himself throughout the whole of these melancholy proceedings with becoming dignity, and braved the terrors of death with the utmost fortitude and resignation.*

The duke of Hamilton, who, by his incapacity, had ruined the king's affairs when on the point of being retrieved, was not destined long to survive his royal master. In violation of the articles of his capitulation, he was brought to trial, and although he pleaded that he acted under the orders of the Scottish parliament, and was not amenable to an English tribunal, he was, under the pretence that he was earl of Cambridge in England, sentenced to be beheaded. He suffered on the ninth of March.

The marquis of Huntly had languished in prison since December sixteen hundred and forty-seven, and during the life of the king the Scottish parliament had not ventured to bring him to the block; but both the king and Hamilton, his favourite, being now put out of the way, they felt themselves no longer under restraint, and accordingly the parliament, on the sixteenth of March, ordained the marquis to be beheaded, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the twenty-second day of that month. As he lay under sentence of ecclesiastical excommunication, one of the "bloody ministers," says the author of the History of the family of Gordon, "asked him, when brought upon the scaffold, if he desired to be absolved from the sentence;" to which the marquis replied, "that as he was not accustomed to give ear to false prophets, he did not wish to be troubled by him." And there-

* The following stanza was written by Montrose at Brussels on hearing of the death of the king:—

Great, good, and just! could I but rate
My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain,
As it would deluge once again:
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies,
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.

These verses appear set to music among "Songs for one, two, and three voices, with some short symphonies, collected out of the select poems of the incomparable Mr Cowley, and others, and composed by Henry Bowman, Philo-Musicus." 2d edit. printed at Oxford, 1679. — *Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs*, p. 495.

upon turning "towards the people, he told them that he was going to die for having employed some years of his life in the service of the king his master; that he was sorry he was not the first of his majesty's subjects who had suffered for his cause, so glorious in itself that it sweetened to him all the bitterness of death." He then declared that he had charity to forgive those who had voted for his death, although he could not admit that he had done any thing contrary to the laws. After throwing off his doublet, he offered up a prayer, and then embracing some friends around him, he submitted his neck, without any symptoms of emotion, to the fatal instrument.

CHAPTER II.

Charles II. proclaimed king—Conduct of Argyle—Conditions offered to the king at the Hague—Rejection of these, and return of the Commissioners—Proceedings of Montrose—Descent upon Scotland resolved upon—Rising in the north under Pluscardin—Inverness taken—March of David Leslie to the north—Submission of Sir Thomas Urquhart and others—Return of Leslie to the south—Pluscardin joined by Lord Reay—Marches into Badenoch, where he is joined by Huntly—Pluscardin's men surprised and defeated at Balveny—Landing of the earl of Kimoul in Orkney—The castle of Birsay taken—Declaration of Montrose, and the Answers thereto—Arrival of Montrose in Orkney—Crosses the Pentland Frith, and lands in Caithness—Surrender of Dunbeath castle—Advance of Montrose into Sutherland—Defeated at Carbisdale—Capture of Montrose by Macleod of Assynt—Sent to Edinburgh—Generous conduct of the people of Dundee—Reception of Montrose in Edinburgh—Behaviour and execution.

WHILE the dominant party in England were contemplating the erection of a commonwealth upon the ruins of the monarchy they had just overthrown, the faction in Scotland, with Argyle at its head, which had usurped the reins of government in that country, in obedience to the known wish of the nation, resolved to recognize the principle of legitimacy by acknowledging the prince of Wales as successor to the crown of Scotland. No sooner, therefore, had the intelligence of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh, than the usual preparations were made for proclaiming Charles the Second, a ceremony which was performed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the fifth day of February, with the usual formalities.

This proceeding was contrary to the policy of Argyle, whose intentions were in exact accordance with those of the English Independents; but, as the melancholy fate of the king had excited a feeling of indignation in the Scottish nation, he was afraid to imitate the example of his English friends, and with his usual subtlety and flexibility, dissembled his views, and adopted other measures without changing his object. As he could not venture in the present disposition of the nation upon the bold step of excluding the son of the king from the crown, he fell upon the device of embroiling them on the subject of religion, than which the perverted ingenuity of man could not have invented one more likely to become a source of discord, and to estrange a nation, wrought up, at that time, to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, from the sovereign. With this view, Argyle, under the specious pretext of securing

the religious, and along therewith the civil liberties of the people, but in reality to secure his own power, prevailed upon his creatures in parliament to propose certain conditions to the prince as the terms on which alone he should be entitled to sway the sceptre of his father. These were, in substance, *first*, that he should sign the covenants, and endeavour to establish them by his authority in all his dominions; *secondly*, that he should ratify and confirm all the acts of the estates, approving of the two covenants, the directory, confession of faith, and the catechism, that he should renounce episcopacy and adopt the presbyterian form of worship; *thirdly*, that in all civil matters he should submit to the parliament, and in things ecclesiastical to the authority of the general assembly; and, *lastly*, that he should remove from his person and court the marquis of Montrose, “a person excommunicated by the church, and forfeited by the parliament of Scotland, being a man most justly, if ever any, cast out of the church of God.”

These conditions, so flattering to popular prejudice and the prevailing ideas of the times, were proposed only because Argyle thought they would be rejected by the youthful monarch, surrounded as he then was by counsellors to whom these terms would be particularly obnoxious. To carry these propositions to Charles II. then at the Hague, seven commissioners from the parliament and kirk were appointed, who set sail from Kirkaldy roads on the seventeenth of March.* These commissioners arrived at the Hague on the twenty-sixth. His court, which at first consisted of the few persons whom his father had placed about him, had been lately increased by the arrival of the earl of Lanark, now become, by the death of his brother, duke of Hamilton, the earls of Lauderdale and Callander, the heads of the Engagers; and by the subsequent addition of Montrose, Kinnoul, and Seaforth. The following graphic sketch is given by Dr Wishart of the appearance and reception of the commissioners:—“When these commissioners, or deputies from the estates were admitted to their first audience of the king, their solemn gait, their grave dress, and dejected countenances, had all the appearance imaginable of humility; and many who were not acquainted with the temper and practices of the men, from thence concluded that they were about to implore of his majesty a general oblivion and pardon for what was past, and to promise a perfect obedience and submission in time coming; and that they were ready to yield every thing that was just and reasonable, and would be sincere in all their proposals of peace and accommodation. They acted in a double capacity, and had instructions both from the estates and from the commission of the kirk, in both of which the earl of Cassillis was the chief person, not only in what they were charged with from the estates, as being a nobleman, but also from the commission of the kirk, of which he was a ruling elder. Their address to the king was introduced with abun-

* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 393.

dance of deep sighs and heavy groans, as if they had been labouring, as Virgil says of the Sybil, to shake the ponderous load from off their breasts, after which they at last exhibited their papers, containing the ordinances of the estates, and acts of the commission of the kirk, and pretended that the terms demanded in them were moderate, just, and reasonable, and absolutely necessary for settling the present confusions, and restoring the king; with which, if he complied, he would be immediately settled upon his father's throne by the unanimous consent of the people."*

The king endeavoured to induce the commissioners to modify the conditions to which his acceptance was required, and to declare publicly their opinions of the murder of his father, to which they had made no allusion; but they replied that they could not alter these conditions without new instructions to that effect from the parliament, "that their demands were not only just and honourable, but absolutely necessary, as being founded upon the Holy Scriptures, and of divine institution."† As they could not approve of the death of the king in presence of his son, and as a contrary declaration would have exasperated Cromwell and his party, they cautiously evaded that topic altogether. The councillors of the young king were divided in opinion as to the course he should pursue. The engagement party advised his majesty to accept the proposed conditions, but Montrose and his friends thought otherwise, and counselled him to vindicate his rights by an appeal to arms, as the demands of the commissioners, in their judgment, were contrary to conscience and honour. The latter advice being congenial to the dispositions of the king, was adopted by him, and the commissioners, therefore, received a final answer from the king, on the nineteenth of May, declining to agree to the terms proposed, and stating, that as he had been already proclaimed king of Scotland by the committee of estates, it was their duty to obey him, and that he should expect the committee of estates, the assembly of the kirk, and the nation at large, to perform their duty to him, humbly obeying, maintaining, and defending him as their lawful sovereign.‡ The commissioners thereupon returned to Scotland, and Charles went to St Germain in France, to visit Queen Henrietta Maria, his mother, before going to Ireland, whither he had been invited by the marquis of Ormond to join the royalist army.

During the captivity of Charles I., Montrose used every exertion at the court of France to raise money and men to enable him to make a descent upon the coast of England or Scotland, to rescue his sovereign from confinement; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he entered into the service of the emperor of Germany, who honoured him with especial marks of his esteem. He had been lately residing at Brussels

* Memoirs, p. 351.

† Wishart.

‡ Balfour, vol. iii. p. 405.

engaged in the affairs of the emperor, where he received letters from the Prince of Wales, then at the Hague, requiring his attendance to consult on the state of his father's affairs ; but before he set out for the Hague, he received the news of the death of Charles I. He was so overwhelmed with grief at this intelligence, that according to Bishop Wishart, who was an eye-witness, he fainted and fell down in the midst of his attendants, and appeared for some time as if quite dead. When he had sufficiently recovered to give full vent to his feelings, he expressed a desire to die with his sovereign, as he could no longer enjoy, as he said, a life which had now become a grievous and heavy burden ; but on Wishart remonstrating with him upon the impropriety of entertaining such a sentiment, and informing him that he should be rather more desirous of life that he might avenge the death of his royal master, and place his son and lawful successor upon the throne of his ancestors ; Montrose replied with composure, that in that view he should be satisfied to live ; "but (continued he) I swear before God, angels, and men, that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to the avenging the death of the royal martyr, and re-establishing his son upon his father's throne." To indulge his grief, Montrose shut himself up in a very retired apartment, in which he continued two days, without seeing or speaking to any person, during which time he composed the stanzas which have been before inserted.

On arriving at the Hague, Montrose was received by Charles II. with marked distinction. After some consultation, a descent upon Scotland was resolved upon, and Montrose, thereupon, received a commission, appointing him lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and commander-in-chief of all the forces there both by sea and land. The king also appointed him his ambassador to the emperor, the princes of Germany, the king of Denmark, and other friendly sovereigns, to solicit supplies of money, and warlike stores, to enable him to commence the war ; and gave him full authority to enter into treaties to secure his object. Thus, before the commissioners had arrived, the king had made up his mind as to the course he should pursue, and being backed by the opinion of a man of such an ardent temperament as Montrose, the result of the communing between the king and the commissioners was as might have been expected.

Connected probably with Montrose's plan of a descent, a rising took place in the north under Thomas Mackenzie of Pluseardin, brother of the earl of Seaforth, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, Colonel John Munro of Lumlair, and Colonel Hugh Fraser, who, at the head of a number of their friends and followers, entered the town of Inverness, on the twenty-second day of February, expelled the troops from the garrison, and demolished and razed the walls and fortifications of the town. The pretence set up by Mackenzie and his friends was, that the parliament had sent private commissioners to apprehend them, but the fact appears to be, that this insurrection had taken place at the instigation

of the king, between whom and Pluscardin a correspondence had been previously opened.* General David Leslie was sent to the north with a force to suppress the insurgents, who, on his approach, fled to the mountains of Ross; but he was soon obliged to retrace his steps, in consequence of a rising in Athole under the direction of Lord Ogilvy, General Middleton, and others, in favour of the king. Leslie had previously made terms with Urquhart, Munro, and Fraser, but as Mackenzie would not listen to any accommodation, he left behind him a garrison in the castle of Chanory, and also three troops of horse in Moray under the charge of Colonel Gilbert Ker, and Lieutenant-Colonels Hacket and Strachan, to watch Pluscardin's motions. But this force was quite insufficient to resist Pluscardin, who, on the departure of Leslie, descended from the mountains and attacked the castle of Chanory, which he re-took. He was thereupon joined by his nephew, Lord Reay, at the head of three hundred well armed able-bodied men, which increased his force to between eight and nine hundred.

Having suppressed the rising in Athole, Leslie was again sent north by the parliament, accompanied by the earl of Sutherland; but he had not proceeded far, when he ascertained that Mackenzie had been induced by Lord Ogilvy and General Middleton, who had lately joined him, to advance southward into Badenoch, with the view of raising the people in that and the neighbouring districts, and that they had been there joined by the young marquis of Huntly, formerly Lord Lewis Gordon, and had taken the castle of Ruthven. Leslie therefore divided his army, with one part of which he himself entered Badenoch, while he despatched the earl of Sutherland to the north to collect forces in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, with another part, consisting of five troops of horse, under the command of Ker, Hacket, and Strachan, to prevent the royalists from again taking shelter in Ross. To hinder them also from retiring into Athole, Leslie marched southward towards Glenesk, by which movement he compelled them to leave Badenoch and to march down Spey side towards Balveny. On arriving at Balveny, they resolved to enter into a negotiation with Leslie, and accordingly Pluscardin and Middleton left Balveny with a troop of horse to meet Leslie, leaving Huntly, Reay and Ogilvy, in charge of the forces, the former of whom sent his brother Lord Charles Gordon to the Enzie, to raise some horse.

While waiting for the return of Pluscardin and Middleton, the party at Balveny had not the most distant idea of being taken by surprise; but on the eighth of May at break of day, they were most unexpectedly attacked by the horse which had been sent north with the earl of Sutherland, and which, returning from Ross, had speedily crossed the Spey, and seizing the royalist sentinels, surprised Lord Reay at the castle of Balveny, where he and about nine hundred foot were taken prisoners and about eighty killed. Huntly and Ogilvy, who had their quarters at

* See Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs, p. 440.

the church of Mortlach, about a mile from Balveny castle, escaped. Colonel Ker at once dismissed all the prisoners to their own homes on giving their oaths not to take up arms against the parliament in time coming. He sent Lord Reay along with some of his kinsmen and friends and Mackenzie of Redcastle and other prisoners of his surname to Edinburgh; all of whom were imprisoned in the jail of Edinburgh. Huntly, Ogilvy, Pluscardin and Middleton, on giving security to keep the peace, were forgiven by Leslie and returned to their homes. Colonel Ker afterwards returned to Ross, took Redcastle, which he demolished, and hanged the persons who had defended it. Thus ended this premature insurrection which, had it been delayed till the arrival of Montrose, might have been attended with a very different result.*

The projected descent by Montrose upon Scotland, was considered by many persons as a desperate measure, which none but those quite reckless of consequences would attempt; but there were others, chiefly among the ultra royalists, who viewed the affair in a different light, and who, although they considered the enterprise as one not without considerable risk, anticipated its success. Such at least were the sentiments of some of the king's friends before the insurrection under Mackenzie of Pluscardin had been crushed; but it is very probable that these were greatly altered after its suppression. But whatever change may have taken place in the minds of these supporters of royalty when they beheld the whole Scottish nation laying prostrate at the feet of Argyle, the bold and daring spirit of Montrose, raised by recent events to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, still maintained its moral altitude in those visionary regions of earthly greatness in which his vivid imagination delighted to dwell. The failure of Pluscardin's ill-timed attempt, was indeed considered by Montrose as a great misfortune, but a misfortune far from irreparable, and as he had invitations from the royalist nobility of Scotland, requesting him to enter upon his enterprise, and promising him every assistance in their power, and as he was assured that the great body of the Scottish nation was ready to second his views, he entered upon the task assigned him by his new master, with an alacrity and willingness which indicated a confidence on his part of ultimate success.

In terms of the powers he had received from the king, Montrose visited the north of Europe, and obtained promises of assistance of men, money, and ammunition, from some of the northern princes; but few of them fulfilled their engagements in consequence of the intrigues of the king's enemies with the courtiers, who thwarted with all their influence the measures of Montrose. By the most indefatigable industry and perseverance, however, he collected a force of twelve hundred men at Gottenburg, about eight hundred of whom had been raised in Holstein and Hamburg, and having received from the queen of Sweden, fifteen hundred com-

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 547, *et seq.*

plete stands of arms, for arming such persons as might join his standard on landing in Scotland, he resolved, without loss of time, to send off this armament to the Orkneys, where, in consequence of a previous arrangement with the earl of Morton, who was favourable to the king, it was agreed that a descent should be made. Accordingly, the first division of the expedition, which consisted of three parts, was despatched early in September; but it never reached its destination, the vessels having foundered at sea in a storm. The second division was more fortunate, and arrived at Kirkwall, about the end of the month. It consisted of two hundred common soldiers and eighty officers, under the command of the earl of Kinnoul, who on landing was joined by his uncle the earl of Kinnoul, and by many of the Orkney gentlemen. Kinnoul immediately laid siege to the castle of Birsay, which was soon surrendered to him; and he proceeded to raise levies among the Orcadians, but was checked in his progress in consequence of a difference with Morton, who claimed the privilege, as superior of Orkney, of commanding his own vassals, a claim which Kinnoul would not allow. Morton felt the repulse keenly, and died soon thereafter of a broken heart, as is believed. His nephew, probably hurt at the treatment he had given his uncle, speedily followed him to the grave.

The news of Kinnoul's landing reached Edinburgh about the fourteenth of October, when General David Leslie was despatched to the north with seven or eight troops of horse to watch him if he attempted to cross the Pentland Frith; but seeing no appearance of an enemy, and hearing of intended commotions among the royalists in Angus and the Mearns, he returned to the south after an absence of fifteen days,* having previously placed strong garrisons in some of the northern strengths.†

Montrose himself, with the remainder of the expedition, still tarried at Gottenburg, in the expectation of obtaining additional reinforcements or of procuring supplies of arms and money. It appears from a letter ‡ which he addressed to the earl of Seaforth, of the date of fifteenth December, that he intended to sail for Scotland the following day; but owing to various causes he did not leave Gottenburg till about the end of February following. He landed in Orkney in the beginning of March, with a force of five hundred men, accompanied by Lord Frendraught, Major General Hurry, and other gentlemen who had attached themselves to his service and fortunes.

To prepare the minds of the people of Scotland for the enterprize he was about to undertake, Montrose, about the close of the year, had circulated a "Declaration" in Scotland, as "Lieutenant-governor and Captain-general for his Majesty of the Kingdom of Scotland," in which, after detailing the proceedings of those whom he termed "an horrid and infamous faction of rebels within the kingdom of Scotland," towards

* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 452. † Gordon's Continuation, p. 551.

‡ Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs, p. 441.

his late majesty, he declared that his present majesty was not only willing to pardon every one, with the exception of those who upon clear evidence should be found guilty "of that most damnable fact of murder of his father," provided that immediately or upon the first convenient occasion, they abandoned the rebels and joined him, and therefore, he expected all persons who had "any duty left them to God, their king, country, friends, homes, wives, children, or would change now at last the tyranny, violence, and oppression of those rebels, with the mild and innocent government of their just prince, or revenge the horrid and execrable murdering of their sacred king, redeem their nation from infamy, restore the present and oblige the ages to come, would join themselves with him in the service he was about to engage."

This declaration which, by order of the committee of estates, was publicly burnt at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman, was answered on the second of January, by a "declaration and warning of the commission of the General Assembly," addressed to "all the members of the kirk and kingdom," which was followed on the twenty-fourth of the same month, by another "declaration" from the committee of estates of the parliament of Scotland, in vindication of their proceedings from "the aspersions of a scandalous pamphlet, published by that excommunicate traitor, James Graham, under the title of a 'Declaration of James, Marquis of Montrose.' The last of these documents vindicates at great length, and apparently with great success, those whom Montrose had designated the "infamous faction of rebels," not because the committee thought "it worth the while to answer the slanders and groundless reproaches of that viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the estates of parliament had long since declared traitor, the church delivered into the hands of the devil, and the nation doth generally detest and abhor;" but because "their silence might be subject to misconstruction, and some of the weaker sort might be inveigled by the bold assertions and railing accusations of this impudent braggard, presenting himself to the view of the world clothed with his majesty's authority, as lieutenant-governor and captain-general of this kingdom." These declarations of the kirk and estates, backed as they were by fulminations from all the pulpits of the kingdom against Montrose, made a deep impression on men's minds, which was highly unfavourable to him, and as the committee of estates discharged all persons from aiding or assisting him under the pain of high treason, and as every action and word of those considered friendly to him were strictly watched, they did not attempt, and had they attempted, would have found it impossible, to make any preparations to receive him on his arrival.

Such was the situation of matters when Montrose landed in Orkney, where, in consequence of the death of Morton and Kinnoul, little progress had been made in raising troops. He remained several weeks in Orkney, without exciting much notice, and having collected about eight

hundred of the natives, which, with the addition of the two hundred troops carried over by Kinnoul, made his whole force amount to about fifteen hundred men, he crossed the Pentland Frith in a number of boats collected among the islands, and landed without opposition at the northern extremity of Caithness, in the immediate vicinity of John o' Groat's house. On landing, he displayed three banners, one of which was made of black taffeta, in the centre of which was exhibited a representation of the bleeding head of the late king, as struck off from the body, surrounded by two inscriptions, "Judge and avenge my cause O Lord," and "Deo et victricibus armis." Another standard had this motto, "Quos pietas virtus et honor fecit amicus." These two banners were those of the king. The third, which was Montrose's own, bore the words, "Nil medium," a motto strongly significant of the stern and uncompromising character of the man.* Montrose immediately compelled the inhabitants of Caithness to swear obedience to him as the king's lieutenant-governor. All the ministers, with the exception of one named William Smith, took the oath, and to punish Smith for his disobedience, he was sent in irons on board of a vessel.† A number of the inhabitants, however, alarmed at the arrival of foreign troops, with whose presence they considered carnage and murder to be associated, were seized with a panic and fled, nor did some of them stop till they reached Edinburgh, where they carried the alarming intelligence of Montrose's advance to the parliament which was then sitting.

As soon as the earl of Sutherland heard of Montrose's arrival in Caithness, he assembled all his countrymen to oppose his advance into Sutherland. He sent, at the same time, for two troops of horse stationed in Ross, to assist him, but their officers being in Edinburgh, they refused to obey, as they had received no orders. Being apprized of the earl's movements, and anticipating that he might secure the important pass of the Ord, and thus prevent him from entering Sutherland, Montrose despatched a body of five hundred men to the south, who obtained possession of the pass. The next step Montrose took, was against the castle of Dunbeath, belonging to Sir John Sinclair, who, on Montrose's arrival, had fled and left the place in charge of his lady. The castle was strong and well supplied with provisions, and the possession of it was considered very important by Montrose, in case he should be obliged to retreat back into Orkney. The castle, which was defended by Sir John's lady and a few servants, surrendered to General Hurry, after a short resistance, on condition that persons and property should be respected. Hurry, thereupon, put a strong garrison therein, under the command of Major Whiteford.

Having secured this important strength, Montrose marched into Sutherland, leaving Henry Graham, his natural brother, behind him with a party to raise men for the service. While in Caithness, the only

* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 440.

† Gordon's Continuation, p. 552.

persons that proffered their services to Montrose, were Hugh Mackay of Skoury, Hugh Mackay of Dirlet, and Alexander Sinclair of Brims, whom he despatched to Strathnaver, to collect forces, but they appear to have neglected the matter. On the approach of Montrose, the earl of Sutherland, not conceiving himself in a condition to resist him, retired with his men, and putting strong garrisons into Dunrobin, Skelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch, and sending off a party with cattle and effects to the hills to be out of the reach of the enemy, he went himself into Ross with three hundred of his men. Montrose continued to advance and encamped the first night at Garty and Helmsdale, the second at Kintredwell, and the third night at Rhives. In passing by Dunrobin, a part of his men went between the castle and the sea, some of whom were killed, and others taken prisoners, in a sortie from the garrison. On the following day, Montrose demanded the prisoners from William Gordon the commander of Dunrobin, but his request was refused. Montrose encamped at Rian in Strathfleet the fourth night, at Gruidy on the fifth, and at Strathoikel on the sixth. He then marched to Carbisdale, on the borders of Ross-shire where he halted a few days in expectation of being joined by the Mackenzies. While reposing here in fancied security and calculating on complete success, he sent a notification to the earl of Sutherland to this effect, that though he had spared his lands for the present, yet the time was at hand when he would make his own neighbours undo him. Little did Montrose then expect that he himself who had often gratified his revenge, was so soon to be taken captive and suffer an ignominious death!

As soon as intelligence of Montrose's descent was received in Edinburgh, the most active preparations were made to send north troops to meet him. David Leslie, the commander-in-chief, appointed Brechin as the place of rendezvous for the troops; but as a considerable time would necessarily elapse before they could be all collected, and as apprehensions were entertained that Montrose might speedily penetrate into the heart of the Highlands, where he could not fail to find auxiliaries, Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan, an officer who had of late been particularly active in suppressing Pluscardin's insurrection, was despatched, in the meantime, to the north with a few troops of horse, for the purpose of keeping Montrose in check, and enabling the earl of Sutherland, and the other presbyterian leaders in the north to raise their levies. These troops, which were those of Ker, Hacket, Montgomery, and Strachan, and an Irish troop commanded by one Collace, were joined by a body of about five hundred foot under the earl of Sutherland, Ross of Balnagown, and Munro of Lunlair, all of whom were assembled at Tain when Montrose encamped at Strathoikel. This movement brought the hostile parties within twenty miles of each other, but Montrose was not aware that his enemy was so near at hand. Strachan, who had early intelligence brought him of Montrose's advance, immediately called a council of war to deliberate, at which it was re-

solved that the earl of Sutherland should, by a circuitous movement, throw himself into Montrose's rear, in order to prevent a junction between him and Henry Graham, and such of the Strathnaver and Caithness men as should attempt to join him, and to protect the country of Sutherland from the threatened ravages of Montrose, and that, at the same time, Strachan with his five troops of horse, and the Munroes, and Rosses, under Balnagown, and Lumlair, should march directly forward and attack Montrose in the level country before he should, as was contemplated, retire to the hills on the approach of Leslie, who was hastening rapidly north with a force of four thousand horse and foot, at the rate of thirty miles a-day.

It was Saturday the twenty-seventh day of April, when Strachan's officers were deliberating whether they should move immediately forward or wait till Monday, "and so decline the hazard of engaging upon the Lord's day,"* when notice being brought that Montrose had advanced from Strathoikel to Carbisdale, a movement which brought him six miles nearer to them: they therefore made arrangements for attacking him without delay. Strachan advanced without observation as far as Fearn, within a mile and a half or two miles of Montrose, where he concealed his men on a muir covered with broom, whence he sent out a party of scouts under Captain Andrew Munro, son of Munro of Lumlair, to reconnoitre Montrose. Munro soon returned and reported that Montrose had sent out a body of forty horse to ascertain their movements. In order to deceive this body, Strachan ordered one troop of horse out of the broom, which being the only force observed by Montrose's scouts, they returned and reported to Montrose what they had seen. This intelligence threw Montrose completely off his guard, who, conceiving that the whole strength of the enemy consisted of a single troop of horse, made no preparations for defending himself.

In the meantime, Strachan formed his men into four divisions. The first, which consisted of about a hundred horsemen, he commanded himself; the second, amounting to upwards of eighty, was given in charge to Hacket; and the third, also horse, to the number of about forty, was led by Captain Hutcheson. The fourth division, which was composed of a body of musketeers belonging to Lawer's regiment, was commanded by one Quarter-master Shaw.†

The deception which had been so well practised upon Montrose by Strachan, in concealing the real amount of his force, might not have been attended with any serious effect to Montrose; but for another stratagem which Strachan had in reserve, which proved his ruin. Strachan's scheme was first to advance with his own division to make appear as if his whole strength consisted at first of only a hundred horse, and while Montrose was impressed with this false idea to bring up the other three divisions in rapid succession, and thus create a panic among

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 9.

† Ibid. iv. p. 9.

Montrose's men as if a large army was about to attack them. This contrivance was crowned with the most complete success. Montrose little suspecting the trick, was thrown quite off his guard, and alarmed at the sudden appearance of successive bodies of cavalry, he immediately gave orders for a retreat to a wood and craggy hill at a short distance in his rear; but before Montrose's men could reach their intended place of retreat, they were overtaken when almost breathless, as they were about entering the wood, by Strachan's troopers, who charged them violently. The foreign troops received the charge with firmness, and, after discharging a volley upon the horse, flew into the wood; but most of the Orcadians threw down their arms in terror and begged for quarter. The Munroes and Rosses followed the Danish troops into the wood and killed many of them. Two hundred of the fugitives in attempting to cross the adjoining river were all drowned.

Montrose for some time made an unavailing effort to rally some of his men, and fought with his accustomed bravery; but having his horse shot under him, and seeing it utterly impossible longer to resist the enemy, he mounted the horse of Lord Frendraught, which that young and generous nobleman proffered him, and galloped off the field; and as soon as he got out of the reach of the enemy, he dismounted, and throwing away his cloak, which was decorated with the star of the garter, and his sword, sought his safety on foot.

The slaughter of Montrose's men continued about two hours, or until sunset, during which time ten of his best officers and three hundred and eighty-six common soldiers were killed. The most conspicuous among the former for bravery was Menzies younger of Pitfoddles, the bearer of the black standard, who repeatedly refused to receive quarter. Upwards of four hundred prisoners were taken, including thirty-one officers, among whom were Sir John Hurry and Lord Frendraught, the latter of whom was severely wounded. Among the prisoners taken were two ministers. This victory was achieved almost without bloodshed on the part of the victors, who had only two men wounded. One of their troopers was drowned in his eagerness pursuing the party of royalists who perished in the river. After the slaughter, the conquerors returned thanks to God on the open field for the victory they had obtained, and returned to Tain, carrying the prisoners along with them.* For several days the people of Ross and Sutherland continued to pursue some unfortunate stragglers, whom they despatched. The result was most calamitous to Orkney, as appears from a petition and memorandum by the gentlemen of Orkney to Lord Morton in sixteen hundred and sixty-two, in which it is stated, that there was scarcely a gentleman's house in that country "but lost either a son or a brother."†

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 555.

† Vide the document in the Appendix to Peterkin's Notes on Orkney and Zetland, p. 106, 107.

Montrose, accompanied by the earl of Kinnoul, who had lately succeeded to the title on the death of his brother, and six or seven companions, having, as before stated, dismounted from his horse and thrown away his cloak and sword, and having, by the advice of his friends, to avoid detection, exchanged his clothes for the more homely attire of a common highlander, he wandered all night and the two following days among bleak and solitary regions, without knowing where to proceed, and ready to perish under the accumulated distresses of hunger, fatigue, and anxiety of mind. The earl of Kinnoul, unable, from exhaustion, to follow Montrose any farther, was left among the mountains, where it is supposed he perished. When upon the point of starvation, Montrose was fortunate to light upon a small cottage, where he obtained a supply of milk and bread, * on receiving which he continued his lonely and dangerous course among the mountains of Sutherland, at the risk of being seized every hour, and dragged as a felon before the very man whom, only a few days before, he had threatened with his vengeance.

In the meantime, active search was made after Montrose. As it was conjectured that he might attempt to reach Caithness, where his natural brother, Henry Graham, still remained with some troops in possession of the castle of Dunbeath, and as it appeared probable, from the direction Montrose was supposed to have taken, that he meant to go through Assynt, Captain Andrew Munro sent instructions to Neil Macleod, the laird of Assynt, his brother-in-law, to apprehend every stranger that might enter his bounds, in the hope of catching Montrose, for whose apprehension a splendid reward was offered. In consequence of these instructions, Macleod sent out various parties in quest of Montrose, but they could not fall in with him. "At last (says Bishop Wishart) the laird of Assynt being abroad in arms with some of his tenants in search of him, lighted on him in a place where he had continued three or four days without meat or drink, and only one man in his company." The bishop then states, that "Assynt had formerly been one of Montrose's own followers; who immediately knowing him, and believing to find friendship at his hands, willingly discovered himself; but Assynt not daring to conceal him, and being greedy of the reward which was promised to the person who should apprehend him by the council of the estates, immediately seized and disarmed him."† This account differs a little from that of the author of the continuation of Sir Robert Gordon's history, who says, that it was one of Macleod's parties that apprehended Montrose, but is altogether silent as to Assynt's having been a follower of Montrose, but both writers inform us that Montrose offered Macleod a large sum of money for his liberty, which he refused to grant. Macleod kept Montrose and his companion, Major Sinclair, an Orkney gentleman, prisoners in the castle of Ardvreck, his principal

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 555.

† Memoirs, p. 377.

residence. By order of Leslie, Montrose was thence removed to Skibo castle, where he was kept two nights, thereafter to the castle of Braan, and thence again to Edinburgh.

In his progress to the capital, Montrose had to endure all those indignities which vulgar minds, instigated by malevolence and fanaticism, could suggest; but he bore every insult with the most perfect composure. At a short interview which he had with two of his children at the house of the earl of South Esk, his father-in-law, on his way to Edinburgh, he exhibited the same composure, for "neither at meeting nor parting could any change of his former countenance be discerned, or the least expression heard which was not suitable to the greatness of his spirit, and the fame of his former actions. His behaviour was, during the whole journey, such as became a great man; his countenance was serene and cheerful, as one who was superior to all those reproaches which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass."*

At Dundee, which had particularly suffered from his army, a very different feeling was, however, shown by the inhabitants, who displayed a generosity of feeling and a sympathy for fallen greatness, which did them immortal honour. Instead of insulting the fallen hero in his distress, they commiserated his misfortunes, and prevailed upon his guards to permit him to exchange the rustic and mean apparel in which he had been apprehended, and which, to excite the derision of the mob, they had compelled him to wear, for a more becoming dress which had been provided for him by the people of Dundee. The sensibilities of the inhabitants had probably been awakened by a bold and ineffectual attempt by the lady of the laird of Grange, at whose house, in the neighbourhood of Dundee, Montrose had passed the previous night, to rescue him. The author of the memoirs of the Somervilles, gives the following characteristic account of this affair:—

"It was at this lady's house that that party of the covenanters their standing armie, that gairded in the marques of Montrose, after his forces was beat and himself betrayed in the north, lodged him, whom this excellent lady designed to sett at libertie, by procureing his escape from her house; in order to this, soe soon as ther quarters was settled, and that she had observed the way and manner of the placing of the guairds, and what officers commanded them, she not only ordered her butlers to let the souldiers want for noe drink, but she herself, out of respect and kyndnesse, as she pretended, plyed hard the officers and souldiers of the main-guaird, (which was keepest in her owne hall) with the strongest ale and acquavite, that before midnight, all of them, (being for the most part Highlandmen of Lawer's regiment) became starke drunke. If her stewarts and other servants had obeyed her directions in giving out what drinke the out-gairds should have called for, undoubtedly the business

* Memoirs, p. 380.

had been effectuat; but unhappily, when the marques had passed the first and second centinells that was sleeping upon their musquets, and likeways through the main-gaird, that was lying in the hall lyke swyne on a midding, he was challenged a little without the outmost guaird by a wretched trouper of Strachan's troupe, that had been present at his taking. This fellow was none of the guaird that night, but being quartered hard by, was come rammelling in for his bellieful of drinke, when he made this unluckie discovery, which being done, the marques was presently seized upon, and with much rudenesse (being in the ladye's cloathis which he had put on for a disguise) turned back to his prisone chamber. The lady, her old husband, with the wholl servants of the house, were made prisoners for that night, and the morrow efter, when they came to be challenged before these that had the command of this party, and some members of that wretched committee of estates, that satt allways at Edenbrough (for mischief to the royall interest,) which they had sent for the more security, to be still with this party, fearing the great friends and weill-wishers this noble heroe had upon the way he was to come, should either by force or stratageme, be taken from them. The ladie, as she had been the only contryver of Montrose's escape, soe did she avow the same before them all; testifying she was heartily sorry it had not taken effect according to her wished desyre. This confidence of hers, as it bred some admiracione in her accusors, soe it freed her husband and the servants from being farder challenged; only they took security of the laird for his ladye's appearing before the committie of estates when called, which she never was. Ther worships gott something else to thinke upon, then to conveen soe excellent a lady before them upon such ane account, as tended greatly to her honour and ther oun shame."

The parliament, which had adjourned itself till the fifteenth of May, met on the appointed day, and that no time might be lost in getting rid of Montrose, they named a committee composed of his deadliest enemies to devise the mode of his reception into the capital and the manner of his death, in terms of whose report an act was passed on the seventeenth of May ordaining, "James Graham," to be conveyed bareheaded from the Water Gate, the eastern extremity of the city, on a cart, to which he was to be tied with a rope, and drawn by the hangman in his livery, with his hat on, to the jail of Edinburgh, and thence to be brought to the parliament house, and there on his knees to receive sentence of death to this effect,—that he should be hanged on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh, with the book which contained the history of his wars and the declaration which he had issued, tied to his neck, and after hinging for the space of three hours, that his body should be cut down by the hangman, his head severed from his body, fixed on an iron pike and placed on the pinnacle on the west end of the prison, that his hands and legs should also be cut off, the former to be placed over the gates of Perth and Stirling, and the latter

over those of Aberdeen and Glasgow,—that if at his death he showed any signs of repentance, and should in consequence be relieved from the sentence of excommunication, which the kirk had pronounced against him, that the trunk of his body should be interred by “pioneers” in the Gray Friars’ churchyard; but otherwise, that it should be buried in the Borroughmuir, the usual place of execution, under the scaffold, by the hangman’s assistants.*

The minds of the populace had, at this time, been wrought up to the highest pitch of hatred at Montrose by the ministers, who, during a fast which had lately been held in thanksgiving for his apprehension, had launched out the most dreadful and bloody invectives against him, and to this circumstance is to be attributed the ignominious plan devised for his reception, by exhibiting him as a spectacle for popular vengeance, in order to confirm, in the minds of the vulgar, the unfavourable impressions they had imbibed, and that they might overwhelm the unfortunate victim with contumely, and perhaps commit acts of violence upon his person.

On the day following the passing of the act, Montrose was brought up from Leith, mounted on an outworn horse, to the Water Gate, along with twenty-three of his officers, his fellow prisoners, where he was met about four o’clock, P.M. by the magistrates of the city in their robes, followed by the “town guard,” and the common executioner. Having been delivered by his guards to the civic authorities, whose duty it now was to take charge of his person, Montrose was, for the first time, made acquainted with the fate which awaited him by one of the magistrates putting a copy of the sentence into his hands that he might read it. He perused the paper with composure, and after he had read it, he informed the magistrates that he was ready to submit to it, and only regretted, “that through him the king’s majesty, whose person he represented, should be so much dishonoured.”†

Before mounting the vehicle brought for his reception, Montrose was ordered by the hangman to uncover his head; but as the mandate was not immediately attended to, that abhorred instrument of the law enforced his command with his own hands. He thereupon made Montrose go into the cart, and placing him on a high chair fixed upon a small platform raised at the end of the cart, he pinioned his arms close to his sides by means of cords, which being made to pass across his breast, and fastened behind the vehicle, kept him so firmly fixed as to render his body immoveable. The other prisoners, who were tied together in pairs, having been marshalled in front of the cart in walking order and uncovered, the hangman, clothed in his terrific attire, mounted the horse attached to the cart, and the procession thereupon moved off at a slow pace up the Canongate, in presence of thousands of spectators, who lined the long and spacious street, and filled the windows of the

* Balfour, iv. p. 12, 13.

† Wishart, p. 385.

adjoining houses. Among the crowd which thronged the street to view the mournful spectacle was a great number of the inferior classes of the community, chiefly females, who had come with the determined intention of venting abuse upon the fallen hero, and pelting him, as he proceeded along the street, with dirt, stones, and other missiles, in consequence of the harangues of the ministers on occasion of the late fast; but they were so overawed by the dignity of his demeanour, and the undaunted courage of soul which he displayed, that their feelings were at once overcome, and instead of covering him with reproaches, they dissolved into tears of pity at the sight of fallen greatness, and invoked the blessings of heaven upon the head of the illustrious captive. A result so totally unlooked for, could not be but exceedingly displeasing to the enemies of Montrose, and particularly to the ministers, who, on the following day, being Sunday, denounced the conduct of the people from the pulpits of the city, and threatened them with the wrath of heaven.

But displeasing as the humane reception of Montrose was to the clergy, it must have been much more mortifying to Argyle, his mortal enemy, who, regardless of decency and good feeling, displayed his hatred at his prostrate adversary by feasting his eyes with the sorrowful spectacle of a chivalrous and high-minded man, illustrious for his achievements and noble birth, dragged as a felon, by the common executioner, through the streets of the metropolis. Had he been prompted by a mere feeling of curiosity to see his defenceless victim, from whom, when armed, he had, craven-like, so often slunk away,—a feeling which no other man in Argyle's situation would have sought to indulge,—he might have adopted various ways to effect his purpose without observation; but such a line of conduct did not accord with the mean and cowardly spirit of Argyle, who, surrounded by his family and friends, appeared publicly on a balcony in front of the earl of Moray's house in the Canongate, where with malignant complacency he beheld the great Montrose in a condition to which even the vilest of mankind are seldom reduced. To add to the insult, the vehicle which carried Montrose was stopped for some time beneath the place where Argyle and his party stood, to allow them a leisurely view of the object of their hate, and that they might indulge, in his presence, in those demonstrations of unworthy triumph which little and vindictive minds never fail to exhibit towards the unfortunate. With what feelings of disdain and contemptuous pity must Montrose have been seized when his eyes met those of his pusillanimous and vindictive rival! But whatever were the inward workings of his soul, he betrayed no symptoms of inquietude, but preserved, during this trying scene, a dignified composure which overwhelmed his recreant insulters with shame.

Although the distance from the Water Gate to the prison was only about half a mile, yet so slow had the procession moved, that it was almost seven o'clock in the evening before it reached the prison. When

released from the cart Montrose gave the hangman some money for his services in having driven his "triumphal chariot,"* as he jocularly termed the cart, so well. On being lodged in jail, he was immediately visited by a small committee appointed by the parliament, which had held an extraordinary meeting at six o'clock in the evening. Balfour says, that the object of the committee, which consisted of three members and two ministers, was to ask "James Grahame if he had any thing to say, and to show him that he was to repair to the house to receive his sentence." The house remained sitting till the return of the deputation, who reported that Montrose had refused to answer any of the interrogatories put to him till he was informed upon what terms they stood with the king, and whether they had concluded any agreement with him. In consequence of this information, the parliament delayed passing sentence till 10 o'clock A. M. of Monday, the twentieth of May; and, in the meantime, appointed seven of their members to wait upon the marquis and examine him on some points respecting "Duke Hamilton and others;" and to induce him to answer, the deputation was instructed to inform him, that an agreement had been concluded between the commissioners on the part of the estates and his majesty, who was coming to Scotland.† Montrose, however, excused himself from annoyance by stating, that as his journey had been long, and as "the ceremony and compliment they had paid him that day had been somewhat wearisome and tedious," he required repose,‡ in consequence of which the deputation left him.

Montrose meant to have spent the whole of the following day, being Sunday, in devotional exercises suitable to his trying situation; but he was denied this consolation by the incessant intrusions of the ministers and members of parliament, who annoyed him by putting a variety of ensnaring questions to him, which he having refused to answer, they gave vent to the foulest reproaches against him. These insults, however, had no effect on him, nor did he show the least symptoms of impatience, but carried himself throughout with a firmness which no menaces could shake. When he broke silence at last, he said that "they were much mistaken if they imagined that they had affronted him by carrying him in a vile cart the day before; for he esteemed it the most honourable and cheerful journey he had ever performed in his life; his most merciful God and Redeemer having all the while manifested his presence to him in a most comfortable and inexpressible manner, and supplied him by his divine grace, with resolution and constancy to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him alone for whose cause he suffered."§

Agreeably to the order of parliament, Montrose was brought up by the magistrates of Edinburgh on Monday at ten o'clock A. M. to receive sentence. As if to give dignity and importance to the cause for which

* Wishart, p. 386.

† Balfour, vol. iv. p. 14.

‡ Wishart, p. 386.

§ Wishart, p. 387.

he was about to suffer and to show how indifferent he was to his own fate, Montrose appeared at the bar of the parliament in a superb dress which he had provided for the purpose, after his arrival in Edinburgh. His small clothes consisted of a rich suit of black silk, covered with costly silver lace, over which he wore a scarlet rocket which reached to his knee, and which was trimmed with silver galouns, and lined with crimson taffeta. He also wore silk stockings of a carnation colour with garters, roses and corresponding ornaments, and a beaver hat having a very rich silver band.*

Having ascended "the place of delinquents," a platform on which criminals received sentence, Montrose surveyed the scene before him with his wonted composure, and though his countenance was rather pale, and exhibited other symptoms of care, his firmness never for a moment forsook him. Twice indeed was he observed to heave a sigh and to roll his eyes along the house,† during the virulent invectives which the lord-chancellor (Loudon) poured out upon him, but these emotions were only the indications of the warmth of his feelings while suffering under reproaches which he could not resent

The lord-chancellor, in rising to address Montrose, entered into a long detail of his "rebellions," as he designated the warlike actions of Montrose, who, he said, had invaded his native country with hostile arms, and had called in Irish rebels and foreigners to his assistance. He then reproached Montrose with having broken not only the national covenant, which he had bound himself to support, but also the solemn league and covenant, to which the whole nation had sworn; and he concluded by informing Montrose, that for the many murders, treasons, and impieties of which he had been guilty, God had now brought him to suffer condign punishment. After the chancellor had concluded his harangue, Montrose requested permission to say a few words in his own vindication, which being granted, though not without some difficulty, he stated,

"That as he considered the parliament to be now sitting under the authority of the king, he had appeared before them with becoming respect, and had uncovered himself, which he would not otherwise have willingly done—that in all cases, and particularly in public affairs, his chief concern had always been to act as a good Christian and a faithful subject, and that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed or had reason to repent. He freely admitted that he had engaged in the first, or national covenant, and had complied with it, and with those who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, what soon became evident to all the world, that some private persons, under the pretence of reforming some errors in religion, and preserving public liberty, intended to abridge and take

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 16, note to Kirkton's Church History, p. 124. Relation of the execution of James Graham, London, 1650.

† Balfour, vol. iv. p. 16.

away the king's just power and lawful authority, and assume it themselves, he had then withdrawn himself from that engagement; and when, in order to disappoint these men, and to clear themselves from being concerned in such base designs, the honest part of the nation thought it necessary to enter into an association for the security of religion, and the preservation of the royal authority, he likewise joined in it and subscribed it; that as to the solemn league and covenant, he had never taken it, and never could approve or acknowledge it as a just and lawful confederacy; and therefore could not be accused of having broken it; and how far religion, which was now split into innumerable sects and parties, had been advanced by it, and what horrible mischiefs and dreadful tragedies it had occasioned, the three distressed kingdoms bore an abundant testimony—that when the late king had almost subdued his rebellious subjects in England, and a faction in Scotland, under colour of the solemn league, had sent in very powerful succours to their assistance, his majesty had been pleased to send him into Scotland clothed with his commission and authority to raise an army and make a diversion to prevent, if possible, these auxiliary forces from prosecuting their rebellious purpose: that he had acknowledged the king's command as most just, and conceived himself bound in duty and conscience to obey it, and that there were many persons who now heard him who could witness how he had executed that commission, and his carriage and behaviour during its continuance—that it was not in the power of the greatest generals altogether to prevent disorders in their army; but that he had endeavoured to do what he could to suppress them, and to punish the disorderly—that he had not spilt any blood, not even that of his most inveterate enemies, but in the field of battle; and that even in the greatest heat of action he had preserved the lives of many thousands; and that as he had first taken up arms at the command of the king, he had laid them down upon his orders, without any regard to his own interest, and had retired beyond the seas.

“With regard to his late invasion, he said, he had undertaken it at the command and by the express orders of the present king, (to whom they all owed duty and allegiance, and for whose long and happy reign he offered his sincere and earnest prayers,) in order to accelerate the treaty which was then begun betwixt him and them—that it was his intention, as soon as the treaty had been concluded, to lay down his arms and retire at the call of his majesty; and such being his authority and determination, he might justly affirm, that no subject ever acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power and authority than he had done in the late expedition.

“In conclusion, he called upon the assemblage to lay aside all prejudice, private animosity, and desire of revenge, and to consider him, in relation to the justice of his cause, as a man and a Christian, and an obedient subject, in relation to the commands of his sovereign, which he had faithfully executed. He then put them in mind of the great obli-

gations which many of them were under to him, for having preserved their lives and fortunes at a time when he had the power and authority, had he inclined, of destroying both, and entreated them not to judge him rashly, but according to the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and particularly by the laws of the land—that if they should refuse to do so, he would appeal to the just Judge of the world, who would at last judge them all, and pronounce a righteous sentence.”*

This speech was delivered without affectation or embarrassment, and with such firmness and clearness of intonation, that according to a cavalier historian, many persons present were afterwards heard to declare, that he looked and spoke as he had been accustomed when at the head of his army.† The chancellor replied to Montrose, in a strain of the most furious invective, “punctually proving him, (says Balfour) by his acts of hostility, to be a person most infamous, perjured, treacherous, and of all that this land ever brought forth, the most creuell and inhumane butcher and murtherer of his natione, a sworne enemy to the covenant and peace of his countrey, and one quhosse boundlesse pryde and ambition had lost the father, and by his wicked counsells done quhat in him lay to destroy the sone lykwayes.”‡

Montrose attempted to address the court a second time, but was rudely interrupted by the chancellor, who ordered him to keep silence, and to kneel down and receive his sentence. The prisoner at once obeyed, but remarked, that on falling on his knees, he meant only to honour the king his master, and not the parliament. While Sir Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register, was reading the sentence, Montrose kept his countenance erect and displayed his usual firmness. After the sentence had been read, the executioner, agreeably to ancient practice, repeated the doom. Montrose was thereupon carried back to prison,§ there to remain till three o'clock the following day, the time fixed for his execution.

The feelings of humanity and the voice of religion, now demanded that the unfortunate prisoner should be allowed to spend the short time he had to live, in those solemn preparations for death, enjoined by religion, in privacy and without molestation; but it was his fate to be in the hands of men in whose breasts such feelings had no place, and whose religion was deeply imbued with a stern and gloomy fanaticism, to which charity was an entire stranger. No sooner, therefore, had Montrose returned to prison, than he was again assailed by the ministers, who endeavoured to induce him to submit to the kirk, no doubt considering the conversion of such an extraordinary *malignant* as Montrose, as a theological achievement of the first importance. To subdue his obstinacy, they magnified the power of the keys, which they said had been committed to them, and informed him that unless he reconciled himself to the kirk and obtained a re-

* Wishart, p. 391. † Monteith's Hist. of the Troubles, p. 514.

‡ *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 15.

§ *Ibid.* p. 16.

lease from the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him, he would be eternally damned. But Montrose, regardless of their threats and denunciations, remained inflexible. Besides the ministers, he was frequently waited upon by the magistrates of the city, with whom he entered into conversation. He told them that he was much indebted to the parliament for the great honour they had decreed him,—that he was prouder to have his head fixed upon the top of the prison, than if they had decreed a golden statue to be erected to him in the market-place, or ordered his portrait to be placed in the king's bed-chamber,—that so far from grieving for the mutilation which his body was about to undergo, he was happy that the parliament had taken such an effectual method of preserving the memory of his loyalty, by transmitting such proofs of them to the four principal cities of the kingdom, and he only wished that he had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of his unshaken love and fidelity to his king and country.* But annoying as the visits of the ministers and magistrates undoubtedly were, Montrose was still farther doomed to undergo the humiliation of being placed under the more immediate charge of Major Weir, who afterwards obtained an infamous notoriety in the annals of criminal jurisprudence. This incestuous wretch, who laid claim to superior godliness, and who pretended to be gifted with the spirit of prayer, of which he gave proofs by many extemporary effusions, gave Montrose great uneasiness by smoking tobacco, to the smell of which, Montrose had, like Charles I., a particular aversion.

During the night, when free from the intrusion of the ministers, Montrose occupied himself in prayer and mental devotion, and even found leisure to gratify his poetic taste, by composing the following lines which he wrote upon the window of the chamber in which he was confined.

Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,
Then place my par-boiled head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, strow them in the air.
Lord, since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.

On the morning of the twenty-first of May, sixteen hundred and fifty, the city of Edinburgh was put into a state of commotion by the noise of drums and trumpets, which was heard in every quarter of the city. The sound attracted the notice of Montrose, who inquired at the captain of the guard the cause of it. The officer told him that the parliament, dreading that an attempt might be made by the mob, under the influence of the malignants, to rescue him, had given orders to call

* Wishart, p. 393.

out the soldiers and citizens to arms. "Do I," said the marquis, "who was such a terror to these good men, when alive, continue still so formidable to them, now that I am about to die? But let them look to themselves; for even after I am dead, I will be continually present to their wicked consciences, and become more formidable to them than while I was alive."

After partaking of a hearty breakfast, Montrose entered upon the business of the toilet, to which he paid particular attention. While in the act of combing his hair, he was visited by Sir Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register, one of his most inveterate foes, who made some impertinent remarks on the impropriety, as he thought, of a person in the dreadful situation of the marquis, occupying some of the precious moments he had yet to live in frivolous attentions to his person. The marquis, who knew well the character of this morose man, thus addressed him with a smile of contempt, "While my head is my own, I will dress and adorn it; but to-morrow, when it becomes yours, you may treat it as you please."

About an hour before the time fixed for his execution, Montrose was waited upon by the magistrates of the city, who saw him conveyed to the place of execution on the same vehicle on which he had been carried into the city. In addition to the dress which he wore on that occasion, he was now habited in a superb scarlet cloak, ornamented with gold and silver lace, which his friends had provided him with. Long before his removal from prison, an immense assemblage of persons had congregated around the place of execution in the High-street, all of whom were deeply affected on Montrose's appearance. As he proceeded along, he had, says Wishart, "such a grand air, and so much beauty, majesty, and gravity appeared in his countenance, as shocked the whole city at the cruelty that was designed him; and extorted even from his enemies this unwilling confession, that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and of the most unshaken constancy and resolution that the age had produced."

It had always been the uniform practice in Scotland to permit all persons about to suffer the last penalty of the law to address the assembled spectators, and on mounting the scaffold Montrose was proceeding to avail himself of this privilege; but the magistrates, who probably had received their instructions from the parliament, refused to allow him to harangue the multitude. His friends, however, anticipating this, had hired a young man, skilled in stenography, who, having stationed himself near the scaffold, was enabled to take down the substance of some observations which Montrose was permitted to make in answer to questions put by some persons who surrounded him.

He began by remarking that he would consider it extremely hard indeed if the mode of his death should be esteemed any reflection upon him, or prove offensive to any good Christian, seeing that such occurrences often happened to the good, at the hands of the wicked, and often

to the wicked at the hands of the good—and that just men sometimes perish in their righteousness, while wicked men prosper in their villanies. That he, therefore, expected that those who knew him well would not esteem him the less for his present sufferings, especially as many greater and more deserving men than he had undergone the same untimely and disgraceful fate. Yet, that he could not but acknowledge that all the judgments of God were just, and that the punishment he was about to suffer was very deservedly inflicted upon him for the many private sins he had committed, and he therefore willingly submitted to it;—that he freely pardoned and forgave his enemies, whom he reckoned but the instruments of the Divine will, and prayed to God to forgive them, although they had oppressed the poor, and perverted judgment and justice.

That he had done nothing contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that he had undertaken nothing but in obedience to the just commands of his sovereign, when reduced to the greatest difficulties by his rebellious subjects, who had risen up in arms against him—that his principal study had always been to fear God and honour the king, in a manner agreeable to the law of God, the laws of nature, and those of his own country; and that, in neither of these respects, had he transgressed against men, but against God alone, with whom he expected to find abundant mercy, and in the confidence of which, he was ready to approach the eternal throne without terror—that he could not pretend to foretell what might happen, or to pry into the secrets of Divine Providence; but he prayed to God that the indignities and cruelties which he was that day to suffer might not be a prelude of still greater miseries which would befall his afflicted country, which was fast hastening to ruin.

That with regard to the grievous censure of the church, which he was sorry some good people thought it a crime in him to die under, he observed, that he did not incur it from any fault of his own, but in the performance of his duty to his lawful prince, for the security of religion, and the preservation of his sacred person and royal authority—that the sentence of excommunication, so rashly laid upon him by the clergy, gave him much concern, and that he earnestly desired to be released from it, so far as that could be done, agreeably to the laws of God, and without hurting his conscience or allegiance, which, if they refused, he appealed to God, the righteous judge of the world, who, ere long, was to be his impartial judge and gracious redeemer.

In answer to the reproaches of some persons who had endeavoured to destroy the marquis's character and reputation by spreading a report that he had laid the whole blame of what he had done upon the king and his royal father, he observed that such a thought had never for once entered into his breast—that the late king had lived a saint and died a martyr, and he prayed to God, that as his own fate was not unlike his, so his death might be attended with the same degree of piety and resignation;

for if he could wish his soul in another man's stead, or to be conjoined with it in the same condition after this life, it would be his alone.

He then requested that the people would judge charitably of him and his actions, without prejudice and without passion. He desired the prayers of all good men for his soul; for his part, he said he prayed earnestly for them all; and with the greatest seriousness, submission and humility, deprecated the vengeance of Almighty God, which had been so long awakened, and which was still impending over his afflicted country—that his enemies were at liberty to exult and triumph over the perishing remains of his body, but the utmost indignities they could inflict should never prevail on him, now at his death, to swerve from that duty and reverence to God, and obedience and respect to the king, which he had manifested all his life long. “I can say no more (concluded the marquis), but remit myself to your charity, and I desire your prayers. You that are scandalized at me, give me your charity; I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my prince, my goodwill to my friends, and my name in charity to you all. I might say more, but I have exonerated my conscience; the rest I leave to God's mercy.”*

A party of ministers who occupied the lower end of the scaffold now attempted, partly by persuasion and partly by threats, to induce Montrose to yield to the kirk by acknowledging his own criminality; but he denied that he had acted contrary to religion and the laws of the land, and, of course, refused to accept of a reconciliation upon such terms. Finding him inflexible, they refused to pray for him as he desired, observing, that no prayers could be of any avail to a man who was an outcast from the church of God. Being desired to pray by himself apart, he told them that if they would not permit the people to join with him, his prayers alone and separately before so large an assembly would perhaps be offensive both to them and him—that he had already poured out his soul before God, who knew his heart, and to whom he had committed his spirit. He then shut his eyes, and holding his hat before his face with his left hand, he raised his right in the attitude of prayer, in which posture he continued about a quarter of an hour in silent and fervent prayer.

As the fatal hour was fast approaching when this unfortunate nobleman was to bid a last and eternal adieu to sublunary things, he desired the executioner to hasten his preparations. This hated functionary, accordingly, brought the book of Montrose's wars, and his late declaration, which, by the sentence, were ordered to be tied round his neck with a cord. Montrose himself assisted in carrying this part of his sentence into execution, and while the operation was performing, good-humouredly remarked, that he considered himself as much honoured then by having such tokens of his loyalty attached to his person as he

* Wishart, p. 399. Balfour, vol. iv. p. 22.

had been when his majesty had invested him with the order of the garter.*

Hitherto, Montrose had remained uncovered; but, before ascending the ladder which conducted to the top of the gibbet, which rose to the height of thirty feet from the centre of the scaffold, he requested permission to put on his hat. This request was, however, refused. He then asked leave to keep on his cloak; but this favour was also denied him. Irritated, probably at these refusals, he appears for a moment to have lost his usual equanimity of temper, and when orders were given to pinion his arms, he told the magistrates that if they could invent any further marks of ignominy, he was ready to endure them all for the sake of the cause for which he suffered.

On arriving at the top of the ladder, which he ascended with astonishing firmness, Montrose asked the executioner how long his body was to be suspended to the gibbet. "Three hours" was the answer. He then presented the executioner with three or four pieces of gold, told him he freely forgave him for the part he acted, and instructed him to throw him off as soon as he observed him uplifting his hands. The executioner watched the fatal signal with a throbbing heart, and when the noble victim raised his hands, the ill-fated functionary obeyed the mandate, and gave vent to his sorrow by a flood of tears. A feeling of horror seized the assembled multitude, who expressed their disapprobation by a general groan. Among the spectators were many persons who had indulged during the day in bitter invectives against Montrose, but whose feelings were so overpowered by the sad spectacle of his death that they could not refrain from tears.† Even the hard-hearted Argyle, who displayed, for once, at least, some good feeling, by absenting himself from the execution, is said to have shed tears on hearing of Montrose's death, but if a cavalier writer is to be believed, his son, Lord Lorne, disgraced himself by the most unfeeling barbarity.‡

* Wishart, p. 400. † Montrose Redivivus.

‡ "'Tis said that Argyle's expressions had something of grief in them, and did likewise weep at the rehearsal of his death, (for he was not present at the execution.) However, they were by many called crocodiles' tears, how worthily I leave to others judgment. But I am sure there did in his son, Lord Lorne, appear no such sign, who neither had so much tenderness of heart as to be sorry, nor so much paternal wit as to dissemble, who, entertaining his new bride (the earl of Moray's daughter) with this spectacle, mocked and laughed in the midst of that weeping assembly; and, staying afterwards to see him hewn in pieces, triumphed at every stroke which was bestowed upon his mangled body." Montrose Redivivus, edition of 1652. Note to Wishart's Memoirs, p. 401.

The dismembered portions of Montrose's body were disposed of in terms of the sentence. Lady Napier, the wife of Montrose's esteemed friend and relation, being desirous of procuring his heart, employed some adventurous persons to obtain it for her. They accomplished this object on the second day after the execution, and were handsomely rewarded by her ladyship. The heart was embalmed by a surgeon, and after being enshrined in a rich gold urn, was sent by her to the eldest son of the marquis, then in Flanders. The family of Napier possess a portrait of Lady Napier, in which there is a representation of the urn.—Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, note, p. 125; edited by C. K. Sharpe, Esquire.

Thus died, at the early age of thirty-eight, James Graham, marquis of Montrose, who had acquired during a short career of military glory greater reputation than perhaps ever fell to the lot of any commander in ancient or modern times within the same compass of time. That partisans may have exaggerated his actions, and extolled his character too highly, may be fairly admitted; but it cannot be denied that Montrose was really a great commander, and that there were noble and generous traits about him which indicated a high and cultivated mind, far superior to the age in which he lived. But however much the military exploits of Montrose may be admired, it must never be forgotten that his sword was drawn against his own countrymen in their struggles against arbitrary power, and that although there was much to condemn in the conduct of the covenanters, subsequent events, in the reign of the second Charles, showed that they were not mistaken in the dread which they entertained of the extinction of their religious liberties, had Charles the First succeeded in his designs.

Among Montrose's officers five of the most distinguished were selected for execution, all of whom perished under 'the Maiden,' a species of the guillotine, introduced into Scotland by the Regent Morton, to which he himself became the first victim. The officers who suffered were, Sir John Hurry,* Captain Spottiswood, younger of Dairsie, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty, Colonel William Sibbald, and Captain Charteris, a cadet of the ancient family of Amisfield. All these met death with extraordinary fortitude. Sir Francis Hay, who was a Catholic, "and therefore, (as a cavalier historian quaintly observes) not coming within the compass of the ministers' prayers,"† displayed in particular an intrepidity worthy of his name and family.‡ After a witty metapho-

After the Restoration, the trunk was disinterred, and the other remains collected, and on 11th May, 1661, were deposited with great solemnity by order of Charles II., in the family aisle in St Giles' church. The remains of Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty were honoured with a similar mark of respect on the same day. For an account of the ceremonial, see Nos. 27 and 28 of the Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs.

* Hurry was at first condemned by the parliament to perpetual banishment. "but the commission of the kirk voted he should die, and thereupon sent ther moderator, with other two of their number, to the parliament house, who very saucilly, in face of that great and honourable court, (if it had not been then a body without a head) told the president and chancellor that the parliament had granted life to a man whom the law had appointed for death, being a man of blood, (citing these words of our blessed Saviour to Peter—'All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword;') whereas, it was very weill knoune, all the blood that that unfortunate gentleman had shed in Scotland was in ther quarrell and defence, being but then engaged in his master's service, when he was taken prisoner, and executed at the kirk's instigatione.

"The parliament was sae farre from rebuking ther bold intruders, or resenting those acts of the commission of the kirk, now quyte besyde ther master's commissione, as they will have it understood, and ther owne solemne professione not to meddle in secular affairs, that they rescinded their former act, and passed a sentence of death upon him, hereby imitating ther dear brethren, the parliament of England, in the caice of the Hothams."—Memoirs of the Somerville Family.

† Wishart, p. 412.

‡ "His constancy at death show well he repented nothing he did, in order to his allegiance and Majesty's service, to the great shame of those who threatened him with their

rical allusion to "the Maiden," he kissed the fatal instrument, and kneeling down, laid his head upon the block. Colonel Sibbald exhibited a surprising gaiety, and, "with an undaunted behaviour, marched up to the block, as if he had been to act the part of a gallant in a play."* An instance of the unfeeling levity with which such melancholy scenes were witnessed, even by those who considered themselves the ministers of the gospel, occurred on the present as on former occasions. Captain Spottiswood, grandson of the archbishop of that name, having on his knees, said the following prayer:—"O Lord, who hath been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this world, I trust at this time you will waft me over this sea of blood to my heavenly Canaan;" was rebuked by a minister who was near him in the following words:—"Take tent, (heed) take tent, sir, that you drown not by the gate!" (way.) Spottiswood replied with great modesty that "he hoped he was no Egyptian," an answer which forced the base intruder to retire among the crowd to conceal his shame.

The execution of Captain Charteris, (the last who suffered) was a source of melancholy regret to his friends, and of triumph to the ministers. He was a man of a determined mind; but his health being much impaired by wounds which he had received, he had not firmness to resist the importunities of his friends, who, as a means of saving his life, as they thought, prevailed upon him to agree to make a public declaration of his errors. This unhappy man, accordingly, when on the scaffold, read a long speech, which had been prepared for him by the ministers, penned in a peculiarly mournful strain, in which he lamented his apostacy from the covenant, and acknowledged "other things which he had vented to them (the ministers) in *auricular confession*."† Yet, notwithstanding the expectations which he and his friends were led to entertain that his life would be spared, he had no sooner finished his speech than he was despatched.

apocryphal excommunications, to which he gave no more place than our Saviour to the devil's temptations."—*Relation of the True Funerals of the Great Lord Marquesse of Montrose.*

* Wishart.

† Wishart, p. 413.—The practice of auricular confession seems to have existed to a considerable extent among the covenanters. It is singular that had it not been for the evidence of the minister of Ormiston, to whom the noted Major Weir had communicated his secrets in auricular confession, he would not have been convicted.—See Arnot's Criminal Trials.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Charles II.—His reception—Preparations of the English to invade Scotland—Cromwell crosses the Tweed—Appearance of the country—Arrives at Musselburgh—Attacks the Scottish army between Edinburgh and Leith, and repulsed—Purging of the Scottish army—Cromwell retires to Dunbar—Returns to Musselburgh—Moves on Colinton—Scots draw up at Corstorphine—Cromwell returns to Musselburgh—The Dunfermline Declaration—Retreat of Cromwell—Battle of Dunbar—Declaration and Warning of the Kirk—Flight of the king from Perth—His capture—Insurrections in the Highlands—Repressed—Proceedings of Cromwell—Conduct of the western army—Defeated by Lambert—Preparations of the Scots for a new campaign—March of Cromwell towards Stirling—Crosses the Forth at the Queensferry—Defeat of Holburn—Death of the young chief of Maclean—Cromwell enters Perth—Scottish army invades England—Followed by Cromwell—Battle of Worcester—Flight of the king.

HAVING arranged with the commissioners, the conditions on which he was to ascend the Scottish throne, Charles, with about five hundred attendants, left Holland on the second of June, in some vessels furnished him by the prince of Orange, and after a boisterous voyage of three weeks, during which he was daily in danger of being captured by English cruizers, arrived in the Moray frith, and disembarked at Garmouth, a small village at the mouth of the Spey, on the twenty-third of that month. Before landing, however, the covenant was presented to him for signature by John Livingston, a minister,* to which the king readily adhibited his subscription, but which he had no intention of observing longer than suited his purpose. Looking upon the crowns of England and Scotland as his own by hereditary right—a right which he had never forfeited, but from the possession of which the enemies of monarchical government were attempting unjustly to exclude him—he probably considered that the circumstances in which he was placed justified him in pursuing the course he did, in order to obtain possession of his inheritance; yet, as dissimulation is never allowable, it would require no inconsiderable power of casuistry to palliate sufficiently the conduct of Charles on this occasion. The parliament certainly had no right to impose the solemn league and covenant upon him, but having accepted it without reservation, he was not entitled to disregard it altogether, far less to allow it, as he afterwards did, to be burnt in London by the hands of the common executioner.

* Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 51.

The news of the king's arrival reached Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth of June. The guns of the castle were fired in honour of the event, and the inhabitants manifested their joy by bonfires and other demonstrations of popular feeling. The same enthusiasm spread quickly throughout the kingdom, and his majesty was welcomed with warm congratulations as he proceeded on his journey towards Falkland, which had been allotted to him by parliament as the place of his residence. The pleasure he received from these professions of loyalty was, however, not without alloy, being obliged, at the request of the parliament, to dismiss from his presence some of his best friends, both Scots and English, particularly the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and other "engagers," who, by an act passed on the fourth of June against "classed delinquents," were debarred from returning to the kingdom, or remaining therein, "without the express warrant of the estates of parliament."* Of the English exiles the duke of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot, and seven gentlemen of the household were allowed to remain with him.† In fact, with these exceptions, every person even suspected of being a "malignant," was carefully excluded from the court, and his majesty was thus surrounded by the heads of the covenanters and the clergy. These last scarcely ever left his person, watched his words and motions, and inflicted upon him long harangues, in which he was often reminded of the misfortunes of his family.

The rulers of the English commonwealth, aware of the negotiations which had been going on between the young king and the Scots commissioners in Holland, became apprehensive of their own stability, should a union take place between the covenanters and the English presbyterians, to support the cause of the king, and they therefore resolved to invade Scotland, and by reducing it to their authority extinguish for ever the hopes of the king and his party. Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief, and Cromwell lieutenant-general of the army destined for this purpose; but as Fairfax considered the invasion of Scotland as a violation of the solemn league and covenant which he had sworn to observe, he refused, notwithstanding the most urgent entreaties, to accept the command, which was in consequence devolved upon Cromwell.

The preparations making in England for the invasion of Scotland, were met with corresponding activity in Scotland, the parliament of which ordered an army of thirty thousand men to be immediately raised to maintain the independence of the country. The nominal command of this army was given to the earl of Leven, who had become old and infirm; but David Leslie his relative, was in reality the commander. The levies went on with considerable rapidity, but before they were assembled Cromwell crossed the Tweed on the twenty-second day of July at the head of sixteen thousand well appointed and high disciplined

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 42.

† Ibid. 77.

troops. On his march from Berwick to Musselburgh a scene of desolation was presented to the eyes of Cromwell, far surpassing any thing he had ever before witnessed. With the exception of a few old women and children, not a human being was to be seen, and the whole country appeared as one great waste over which the hand of the ruthless destroyer had exercised its ravages. To understand the cause of this it is necessary to mention, that, with the view of depriving the enemy of provisions, instructions had been issued to lay waste the country between Berwick and the capital; to remove or destroy the cattle and provisions, and that the inhabitants should retire to other parts of the kingdom under the severest penalties. To induce them to comply with this ferocious command, appalling statements of the cruelties of Cromwell in Ireland were industriously circulated among the people, and that he had given orders to put all the males between sixteen and sixty to death, to cut off the right hands of all the boys between six and sixteen, and to bore the breasts of all females of age for bearing children, with red-hot irons.* Fortunately for his army Cromwell had provided a fleet in case of exigency, which followed his course along the coast, and supplied him with provisions.

The English general continued his course along the coast till he arrived at Musselburgh, where he established his head-quarters. Here he learnt that the Scots army, consisting of upwards of thirty thousand men, had taken up a strong position between Edinburgh and Leith, and had made a deep entrenchment in front of their lines, along which they had erected several batteries. Cromwell reconnoitred this position, and tried all his art to induce the Scots to come to a general engagement; but as Leslie's plan was to act on the defensive, and thus force Cromwell either to attack him at a considerable disadvantage, or to retreat back into England after his supply of provisions should be exhausted, he kept his army within their entrenchments.

As Cromwell perceived that he would be soon reduced to the alternative of attacking the Scots in their position, or of retracing his steps through the ruined track over which his army had lately passed, he resolved upon an assault, and fixed Monday the twenty-ninth day of July for advancing on the enemy. By a singular coincidence, the king, at the instigation of the earl of Eglinton, but contrary to the wish of his council and the commanders, visited the army that very day. His presence was hailed with shouts of enthusiasm by the soldiers, who indulged in copious libations to the health of their sovereign. The soldiers in consequence neglected their duty, and great confusion prevailed in the camp;† but on the approach of Cromwell sufficient order was restored, and they patiently waited his attack. Having selected the centre of the enemy's position, near a spot called the Quarry Holes, about halfway between Edinburgh and Leith, as appearing to him the most favourable

* Whitelock, p. 465.

† Balfour, vol. iv. p. 86.

point for commencing the operations of the day, Cromwell led forward his army to the assault; but after a desperate struggle he was repulsed with the loss of two of his cannon. The regiment of Lawers particularly distinguished itself on this occasion, which not only routed a considerable body of Cromwell's foot, but drove a party of artillery from the adjoining hill at St Leonard's chapel, where they had planted some cannon to play on the Scottish position. Under the protection of a large body of horse the English regained their cannon; but they lost a considerable number of men and horses from an incessant fire of musketry kept up by Lawers' men from the hedges and rocks.* Cromwell renewed the attack on the thirty-first, and would probably have carried Leslie's position but for a destructive fire from some batteries near Leith. While skirmishing with the enemy in front of the line, Sir James Hackett, who should have seconded David Leslie, "received a great fright," says Balfour, and was so alarmed that he scampered off at full gallop; but on the third of August he and Colonel Scott, who appears also to have acted a cowardly part, were exculpated by the committee, "yet that (continues Balfour) did little to save their honour amongst honest men, and soldiours of worthe and reputation."† Cromwell retired to Musselburgh in the evening, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of two thousand horse and five hundred foot, commanded by Major-General Montgomery, son of the earl of Eglinton, and Colonel Strachan, which had been despatched at an early part of the day by a circuitous route to the right, for the purpose of falling on Cromwell's rear. If Balfour is to be credited, this party beat Cromwell "soundlie," and would have defeated his whole army if they had had an additional force of one thousand men; but an English writer informs us, that the Scots suffered severely.‡ According to the first mentioned author the English had five colonels and five hundred men killed, while the latter states the loss of the Scots to have been about a hundred men, and a large number of prisoners. On the following day, Cromwell, probably finding that he had enough of mouths to consume his provisions, without the aid of prisoners, offered to exchange all those he had taken the preceding day, and sent the wounded Scots back to their camp.

These rencounters, notwithstanding the expectations of the ministers, and the vaunts of the parliamentary committee of their pretended successes, inspired some of Leslie's officers with a salutary dread of the prowess of Cromwell's veterans. An amusing instance of this feeling is related by Balfour in the case of the earl of W. (he suppresses the name) who "beeing commandit the next day (the day after the last mentioned skirmish) in the morning, to marche out one a partey, saw he could not goe one upone service untill he had his brackefaste. The brackefaste was delayed above 4 hours in getting until the L. General being privily advertissed by a seerett frind, that my Lord was peaceably myndit that

* Balfour, vol. iv., p. 88.

† Ibid, p. 89.

‡ Whitelock.

morning, sent him expresse orders not to marche, to save his reputation. One this, the gallants of the army raised a proverbe, 'That they wold not goe out one a party until they gate ther brackefaste.'"^{*}

For several days Cromwell remained inactive in his camp, during which the parliamentary committee subjected the Scots army to a purging operation, which impaired its efficiency, and, perhaps, contributed chiefly to its ruin. As the Solemn League and Covenant was considered by the covenanters as a sacred pledge to God, which no true Christian could refuse to take, they looked upon those who declined to subscribe it as the enemies of religion, with whom it would be criminal in the eye of Heaven to associate. This principle had been acted upon when the duke of Hamilton invaded England, and had led to the utter destruction of his army; but such an instructive lesson was thrown away upon the enthusiasts who usurped the direction of affairs in Scotland at this time, and, accordingly, the ministers preached incessantly against the sinfulness of allowing malignants and the enemies of the covenant to remain in the army, and they denounced the judgments of God upon the land and army if such men were suffered to remain among them. A committee of parliament had been appointed for purging the army, which now entered upon its task; but before the purgation commenced, the king received a hint, equivalent to a command, from the heads of the covenanters to retire to Dunfermline, an order which he obeyed "sore against his own mind," † by taking his departure on Friday the second of August, after spending the short space of two hours at a banquet, which had been provided for him by the city of Edinburgh. No sooner had the king departed than the purging process was commenced, and on the second, third, and fifth days of August, during which the committee held their sittings, no less than eighty officers, all men of unquestionable loyalty, besides a considerable number of common soldiers, were expelled from the army. ‡

In the meantime Cromwell's army began to be in lack of provisions, but it was immediately supplied by some English vessels which arrived at Dunbar, whither Cromwell retired with his army on the fifth of August. Here he found the few inhabitants who had remained in the town in a state of starvation. Touched with commiseration, he generously distributed among them, on his supplies being landed, a considerable quantity of wheat and pease.§

While the ministers were thanking God "for sending the sectarian army (for so they designated the independents) back the way they came, and flinging such a terror into their hearts, as made them fly when none pursued,"|| Cromwell suddenly re-appeared at Musselburgh, and thus put an end to their thanksgivings

Seeing no hopes of the Scots army leaving its entrenchments, and

^{*} Balfour, vol. iv., p. 87.

† Balfour, vol. iv., p. 89.

‡ Whitelock.

§ Balfour.

|| Ibid. p. 483.

afraid that farther delay might be injurious to him, Cromwell made a movement on the thirteenth of August to the west, as far as the village of Colinton, three miles south-west from Edinburgh, where he posted the main body of his army. The Scottish General thinking that Cromwell had an intention of attacking him in his rear, raised his camp and marched towards Corstorphine, about two miles north from Colinton, where he drew out his army. Both armies surveyed each other for several days, but neither attempted to bring the other to action. As he could not, from the nature of the ground which lay between the two armies, attack his opponents with any probability of success, Cromwell again returned to Musselburgh with his army on a Sunday, that he might not be harassed in his march by the covenanters, who never fought but on the defensive on that day.

Although the king before his landing had subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, and although they had purged the army to their heart's content, still Argyle and his party were not satisfied, and they, therefore, required his majesty to subscribe a declaration "for the satisfaction of all honest men," to the effect after-mentioned. A copy of the proposed declaration had been put into the king's hands by the marquis of Argyle on his departure from the army, and on the ninth of August, commissioners from the committees of the army and the kirk arrived at Dunfermline to require his subscription to the declaration; but as the declaration contained several things offensive to his feelings, he absolutely refused to sign it.

The commissioners having returned to Edinburgh and reported progress, the commission of the general assembly met in the west kirk on the thirteenth of August, and drew up a declaration, setting forth that as there might be just ground of stumbling, on account of his majesty's refusal to subscribe the declaration offered to him, and considering his former carriage and resolutions for the future in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, they therefore declared that the kirk and kingdom ought not to own nor espouse any malignant parties' quarrel or interest; but that they fought merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they had done for the last twelve years; and therefore they disclaimed all the sin and the guilt of the king, and of his house, and declared that they would not acknowledge him or his interest in any way, but in subordination to God, and that in so far as he aimed and prosecuted the cause of God, and disclaimed his and his father's opposition to the cause of God and to the covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof, and that they would with convenient speed take into consideration the papers lately sent to them by Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods therein contained, especially in those things in which the quarrel betwixt them and the sectarian party was misstated as if they owned the late king's proceedings.

This extraordinary declaration having received the approbation of the

committee of estates, was forwarded to the king, but before its arrival he had held a council at Dunfermline to consult upon the propriety of subscribing the declaration. Among those present were Argyle, Lothian, Eglinton, Tweeddale, and Lorn, who advised his majesty to sign the ungracious document, which they considered necessary to counteract the insidious and unjust accusations of Cromwell, who had openly charged the leading Presbyterians with the odious crime of aiding and abetting the cause of the malignants. His majesty yielded to this advice; but before putting his name to it he sent for two of the leading ministers (Dickson and Gillespie) to endeavour to obtain from them some modification in the language used respecting his father. After considerable altercation, some alterations agreeable to his majesty were admitted. With tears in his eyes he subscribed the declaration on the sixteenth of August, and the other declaration of the commission of the kirk was in consequence rescinded.

The "Heads of the Declaration" which his majesty subscribed, were to this effect:—

That though his majesty, as a dutiful son, was obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and to have in estimation the person of his mother, yet he desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God because of his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people had been shed in these kingdoms, and for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration whereof in the king's house, as it was matter of great humbling to all the Protestant churches, so could it not be but a high provocation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children. That he had not subscribed the covenant from any sinister intention and crooked design, but sincerely, and that he would have no friends or enemies but those of the covenant, requiring all to lay down their enmity against the cause and people of God—that the treaty he had made with the Irish should be void—that no merchants following their business should be interrupted on the seas by the commissions which he had issued; and though he desired to construe favourably the intentions of those (in reference to him) that opposed the covenant, yet he would not give a commission to any such until they took the covenant, and gave evidence of their integrity, &c.

That he would satisfy the desires of his good English and Irish subjects, and if the parliament of England, sitting in freedom, should require him to accede to the propositions of the two kingdoms, he would not only adopt them without alteration, but do what was necessary for prosecuting the ends of the covenant, especially in reforming the church of England according to the standard of the Westminster divines, that the church of England so reformed might enjoy full liberty and freedom; that he would consent to pass an act of oblivion in favour of all persons laying down their arms, except the chief obstructers of the work of reformation, and the authors of the change of government,

and the murderers of his royal father, as they should be selected by the houses of parliament. And as "the sectaries" had invaded Scotland, his majesty desired and expected that the well-affected in England would seize the opportunity to promote the covenant, and establish the ancient government, &c.*

Although every sober and judicious person must have perceived that there was little probability that such a declaration would be regarded by the young monarch when released from his trammels, yet so greatly important was his majesty's subscription to the instrument considered by the covenanters, that they hailed it with the most lively emotions of joy and gratitude; and the ministers who, only two days before, had denounced the king from the pulpits as the root of malignancy, and a hypocrite, who had shown, by his refusal to sign the declaration, that he had no intention to keep the covenant, were the first to set the example. The army, excited by the harangues of the ministers during a fast, which they proclaimed to appease the anger of heaven for the sins of the king and his father, longed to meet the enemy, and it required all the influence and authority of General Leslie to restrain them from leaving their lines and rushing upon the "sectaries;" but, unfortunately for the covenanters, their wish was soon to be gratified.

It does not appear that the chiefs of the covenanters were actuated by the same enthusiasm as the ministers and the common soldiers, or that the generals of the army were very sanguine of success. They were too well aware of the composition of Cromwell's veteran host, to suppose that their raw and undisciplined levies, though numerically superior, could meet the enemy in the open field; and hence they deemed it a wise course of policy to act on the defensive, and to harass them by a desultory warfare as occasion offered. This system had been so successful as to embarrass Cromwell greatly, and to leave him no alternative but a retreat into England, a resolution which he was obliged to adopt more speedily, perhaps, than he would otherwise have done in consequence of extensive sickness in his army. No indications of any movement had appeared up to the twenty-ninth of August, as on that day the committee of estates adjourned the meeting of parliament, which was to have then assembled, till the tenth day of September, "in respecte that Oliver Cromwell and his army of sectaries and blasphemers have invadit this kingdome, and are now laying within the bosome thereof."†

On the following day, however, Cromwell collected his army at Musselburgh, and having put all his sick on board his fleet, which lay in the adjoining bay, he gave orders to his army to march next morning to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar. He made an attempt to obtain the consent of the committee of estates to retire without molestation, promising never again to interfere in the affairs of Scotland; but they

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 92.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 96.

refused to agree to his proposal, as they considered that they would be able to cut off his retreat and compel him to surrender at discretion.

Next morning, being the thirty-first of August, Cromwell's army was in full retreat towards Haddington. The Scots army followed in close pursuit, but with the exception of some slight skirmishing between the advanced guard of the Scots and Cromwell's rear, nothing important took place. Cromwell halted during the night at Haddington, and offered battle next day; but as the Scots declined, he continued his retreat to Dunbar, which he reached in the evening. With the intention of cutting off his retreat, Leslie drew off his army to the south towards the heights of Lammermuir, and took up a position on Doon hill. Having at the same time secured an important pass called the Peaths, through which Cromwell had necessarily to pass on his way to Berwick, the situation of Cromwell became extremely critical, as he had no chance of escape but by cutting his way through the Scots army, which had now completely placed itself on his line of retreat. Cromwell perceived the danger of his situation, but he was too much of an enthusiast to give way to despair; he deliberately, and within view of the enemy, shipped off the remainder of his sick at Dunbar, on the second of September, intending, should providence not directly interpose in his behalf, to put his foot also on board, and at the head of his cavalry to cut his way through the Scots army.* But as, in an affair of such importance, nothing could be done without prayer, he directed his men to "seek the Lord for a way of deliverance and salvation."† A part of the day was accordingly spent in prayer, and at the conclusion, Cromwell declared, that while he prayed he felt an enlargement of heart and a buoyancy of spirit which assured him that God had hearkened to their prayers.‡

While Cromwell and his men were employed in their devotional exercises, a council of war was held by the Scottish commander to deliberate upon the course to be pursued in the present crisis. As Leslie considered himself perfectly secure in his position, which could not be assailed by the enemy without evident risk of a defeat, and as he was apprehensive of a most formidable and desperate resistance should he venture to attack the brave and enthusiastic independents, who were drawn out within two miles of his camp; he gave as his opinion that the Scottish army should not only remain in its position, but that Cromwell should be allowed to retire into England on certain easy conditions. The officers of the army concurred in the views of the general, but this opinion was overruled by the committees of the estates and kirk, who, anxious to secure their prey, lest by any possibility it might escape, insisted that the army should descend from the heights and attack the "army of sectaries and blasphemers," which they fully expected the

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 97.

† Cromwelliana, p. 89.

‡ Burnet's own Times, vol. i. p. 54.

Lord would deliver into their hands; an event which they probably looked for with the greater confidence from a meteor having been observed, on the night of the thirtieth of August, coming out of the north and proceeding in a south-easterly direction, which appeared to the imagination of those who witnessed it, in the shape of "a fiery-forked sword,"* an appearance which was doubtless looked upon by the covenanters as a favourable omen.

In pursuance of the orders of the committees to attack Cromwell early the following morning, Leslie drew down his men on the evening of the second of September from the heights which they occupied to the level ground below, that he might be the sooner ready to commence the attack before the enemy should be fully on their guard. But nothing could escape the penetrating eye of Cromwell, who, though pondering with solicitude upon the difficulties of his situation, was not inattentive to the enemy, whose motions he personally watched with the utmost vigilance and assiduity. During the evening in question he perambulated the gardens adjoining Broxmouth-house, a seat of the earl of Roxburgh, near Dunbar, surveying the Scottish army, but could observe no indications of any movement. He was about retiring for the night, when looking through his glass for the last time that evening, he perceived, to his infinite joy, the Scottish army in motion down the hill. The object of this movement at once occurred to him, and in a rapture of enthusiasm he exclaimed, "they are coming down, the Lord hath delivered them into our hands." The same feeling was communicated by Cromwell to his soldiers, to whom, it is related, he gave an assurance that a supernatural voice had informed him that he would obtain a victory.† A strong spirit of religious enthusiasm had in fact seized both armies, and each considered itself the peculiar favourite of heaven.

Unfortunately for the Scots their movements were considerably impeded by the state of the weather, which, during the night, became very rainy and tempestuous, and, whether from accident or design, their matches were suffered to be extinguished by the rain. Confident in their numbers, they seem to have disregarded the ordinary rules of military prudence, and such was the slowness of their movements, that they found themselves unexpectedly attacked at the dawn of day before the last of their forces had left the hill where they had been stationed. Cromwell had, during the night, advanced his army to the edge of a deep ravine which had hitherto separated the advanced posts of both parties, along which his troops reposed waiting in deep silence the order for attack. As soon as Cromwell was enabled by the approach of day to obtain a partial view of the position selected by the Scots, he perceived that the Scottish general had posted a large body of cavalry on

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 94.

† Sagredo. Relation to the Venetian Senate.

his right wing near to a pass on the road from Dunbar to Berwick, with the evident intention of preventing the English from effecting an escape. To this point, therefore, Cromwell directed his attack with the main body of his horse, and some regiments of foot, with which he endeavoured to obtain possession of the pass; but they were charged by the Scottish lancers, who, aided by some artillery, drove them down the hill. Cromwell, thereupon, brought up a reserve of horse and foot and renewed the attack, but was again repulsed. He still persevered, however, and the cavalry were again giving way, when just as the sun was emerging from the ocean, and beginning, through the mist of the morning, to dart its rays upon the armour of the embattled hosts, he exclaimed with impassioned fervour in the sublime language of the psalmist,—“Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered.” In a moment Cromwell’s own regiment of foot, to whom his exclamation had been more particularly addressed, advanced with their pikes levelled, the cavalry rallied, and the Scottish horse, as if seized with a panic, turned their backs and fled, producing the utmost confusion among the foot, who were posted in their rear.

As soon as the Scots perceived the defeat and flight of their cavalry, they were seized with a feeling of consternation, and throwing away their arms, sought their safety in flight. They were closely pursued by Cromwell’s dragoons, who followed them to the distance of many miles in the direction of Edinburgh, and cut them down without mercy. Out of a force of twenty-seven thousand men, who, a few hours before, had assured themselves of victory, not more than fourteen thousand escaped. Three thousand of the Scots lay lifeless corpses on the fertile plains of East Lothian, and about ten thousand were taken prisoners, of whom not less than five thousand one hundred were wounded.* All the ammunition, artillery, and baggage of the Scots’ army fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss on the side of Cromwell was trifling, not amounting to more than thirty men killed. The battle of Dunbar took place on the third of September, sixteen hundred and fifty, and was long familiarly known among the Scots by the name of “the Tyesday’s chase.”

Cromwell spent the following day at Dunbar writing despatches to the parliament. He ordered all the wounded to be taken particular care of, and after their wounds were dressed they were released on their parole. The remainder of the prisoners were sent to England, where about two thousand of them died of a pestilential disease, and the rest were sold as slaves, and sent to the English plantations in the West Indies. Cromwell, of course, now abandoned his intention of returning to England. In furtherance of his design to subject Scotland to his authority, he marched to Edinburgh, which he entered without opposition.

In the meantime, the Scottish horse and the few foot which had escaped from the slaughter of Dunbar were collected together at Stir-

* Whitelock, p. 471.

ling. Here the Commissioners of the General Assembly held a meeting on the twelfth of September, at which they drew up a "declaration and warning to all the congregations of the kirk of Scotland," exhorting the people to bear the recent disaster with becoming fortitude, and to humble themselves before God that he might turn away his anger from them. And they ordained a "soleme publicke humiliatione upone the defeat of the army," to be kept throughout the kingdom, for which they assigned thirteen causes, viz. the continued ignorance and profaneness of the land; the manifest provocations of the king's house; the importation by the king of "a great many malignants;" not purging his family "from malignant and profane men;" leaving a most malignant and profane guard of horse about the king; not purging the judicatories and armies "from malignant and scandalous persons;" the exceeding great diffidence of some of the chief leaders of the army, and others, who thought that they could not be saved but by a numerous army; the looseness, insolence, and oppression of many in the army; and the little care taken to preserve the corn; great unthankfulness for former mercies and deliverances; attending to the king's interest "without subordination to religion," &c.; the carnal selfishness and crooked ways of sundry in the judicatories and armies, making no difference between those who feared God, and those who did not fear him, in the public appointments; and the exceeding great negligence, "in great ones and many others," in performing family worship.*

It is probable that this "declaration and warning" had little effect upon the minds of the people, whose enthusiasm had been somewhat cooled by Cromwell's success, and although they did not, perhaps, like their unfortunate countrymen, who were taken captives on the third of September and sent into England, curse the king and clergy for insnaring them in misery, as Whitelock observes, they could not but look upon the perpetual meddling of the ministers with the affairs of the State, as the real source of all the calamities which had recently befallen the country. As to the king he had become so thoroughly disgusted with the conduct of the Argyle faction, whose sole object seemed to be to use him as a tool for their own purposes, that he regarded the recent defeat of the covenanters in the light of a triumph to his cause, which, by destroying the power of Argyle, would pave the way for the due exercise of the royal authority.

The king now entertained the idea of forming a party for himself among the numerous royalists in the Highlands, for which purpose he opened up a correspondence with Huntly, Moray, and Athole, and other chiefs; but before matters were fully concocted, the negotiation was disclosed to Argyle, who took immediate means to defeat it. Accordingly, on the twenty-seventh of September, the committee of estates ordered the whole cavaliers who still remained about the king's person, with the

* Balfour, vol. iv. pp. 98—107.

exception of three, to quit the court within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in twenty days. As Buckingham was excepted, and as he was known to have disapproved of the king's design, it has been supposed, with some reason, that he was the person who had made the secret known to Argyle. Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon, was intrusted with the execution of this “acte for purging the king's housse,” as he terms the order of the committee of estates, and he repaired therewith to Perth where the king then resided, and where he arrived on the third of October. The king desired that nine of the proscribed persons, whose names he underscored in the roll, should be allowed to remain with him till the meeting of parliament, but the committee refused to comply with his request.

As Charles was to be thus summarily deprived of the society and advice of his friends, he took the resolution of leaving Perth the following day, and retiring to the Highlands among his friends. Accordingly, under the pretence of hawking, he left Perth about half past one o'clock in the afternoon of the fourth of October, accompanied by five of his livery servants in a plain riding dress. To lull suspicion, he rode through the South Inch at a slow pace; but as soon as he cleared it, he set off at full gallop, and arrived at Dudhope in an hour and a half. From thence he proceeded to Auchter-house along with Viscount Dudhope, whence he was conveyed by the earl of Buchan and the Viscount to Cortuquhuy, the seat of the earl of Airly. After partaking of some refreshment he proceeded the same night up the glen, under the protection of sixty or eighty highlanders, to a poor cottage, forty-two miles from Perth, belonging to the laird of Clova. Fatigued by such a long journey, he threw himself down on an old mattress, but he had not enjoyed many hours repose when the house was entered, a little before break of day, by Lieutenant-Colonel Nairne, and Colonel Baynton, an Englishman, who had been sent by Colonel Montgomery in quest of him. Shortly after Montgomery himself appeared, accompanied by the laird of Scotscraig, who had given him information of the place of his Majesty's retreat, and Sir Alexander Hope bearing one of the king's hawks. This party advised the king to get on horseback, offered to attend him, and promised to live and die with him if necessary.

Perceiving their intention to carry him back to Perth, the king told Montgomery that he had left Perth in consequence of information he had received from Dr Fraser, his physician, that it was the intention of the committee of estates to have delivered him up to the English, and to hang all his servants: Montgomery assured his Majesty that the statement was false, and that no person but a traitor could have invented it. While this altercation was going on, Dudhope and the Highlanders who attended the king strongly advised him to retire instantly to the mountains, and they gave him to understand that a force of two thousand horse and five thousand foot was waiting for him within the distance of five or six miles ready to execute his orders; but before his Majesty had come to any

resolution as to the course he should adopt, two regiments of covenanting horse appeared, on observing whom, says Balfour, "Buchan, Dudhope and ther begerly guard begane to shecke ther cares, and speake more calmley, and in a lower strain." The king thereupon gave his consent to return to Perth, whither he was accordingly conducted by Montgomery at the head of his horse.*

This attempt of the king to escape (familiarly known by the name of "the Start") produced a salutary effect upon the committee of estates, and they now began to treat him with more respect. They saw that he had grown weary of the state of durance in which they had kept him, and they were apprehensive, should they continue to show him the same disrespect they had hitherto done, that he would seize the first favourable opportunity of trying another "Start" in order to place himself at the head of the royalists then organizing in the north. They, therefore, for the first time, admitted him to their deliberations, and they even suspended the act they had issued ordering the English cavaliers to leave the kingdom, in return for which courtesy his majesty expressed his sorrow that he should have been induced "by the wicked counsel of some men who had deluded him," to leave Perth, and as "he was not a very good orator himself," the Lord Chancellor, at his request, explained to the committee in a "long narration," the circumstances of his departure from Perth, to which "his majesty addit that, as he was a christian, quhen he went first out, that he had na mind to depairt; and he trusted in God it wold be a lessone to him all the dayes of his lyffe." *

As a considerable part of the Highlands was now up in arms to support the king, the committee induced him to write letters to the chief leaders of the insurrection to lay down their arms, which correspondence led to a protracted negotiation. An act of indemnity was passed on the twelfth of October, in favour of the people of Athole, who had taken up arms; but as it was couched in language which they disliked, and contained conditions of which they disapproved, the Earl of Athole and his people presented a petition to his majesty and the committee, craving, (1) that the word *rebellion*, should be expunged from the pardon, and that a more favourable term should be substituted; (2) that instead of delivering up one John Robertson, who had killed a lieutenant belonging to Sir John Brown's regiment, the friends of the lieutenant should be compelled to receive an assythment, and that Robertson should be pardoned; (3) that the earl should have the keeping of his own house at Blair, on giving surety for his fidelity. The committee of estates acceded only to the first of these demands.

In order to enforce the orders of the king to the northern royalists, to lay down their arms, Sir John Brown's regiment was despatched to the north; but they were surprised during the night of the twenty first of October, and defeated by a party under Sir David Ogilvy, brother to

* Balfour vol. iv. p. 115.

* Ibid. vol. iv. p. 119.

Lord Ogilvy. On receiving this intelligence, General Leslie hastened to Perth from Stirling, and crossed the Tay on the twenty-fourth of October, with a force of three thousand cavalry, with which he was ordered to proceed to Dundee and scour Angus. At this time General Middleton was lying at Forfar, who, on hearing of Leslie's advance, sent him a letter, inclosing a copy of a "bond and oath of engagement" which had been entered into by Huntly, Athole, Seaforth, Middleton, and other individuals, by which they had pledged themselves to join firmly and faithfully together, and neither for fear, threatening, allurements, nor advantage, to relinquish the cause of religion, of the king and of the kingdom, nor to lay down their arms without a general consent; and as the best undertakings often did not escape censure and malice, they promised and swore, for the satisfaction of all reasonable persons, that they would maintain the true religion, as then established in Scotland, the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant; and defend the person of the king, his prerogative, greatness, and authority, and the privileges of parliament, and the freedom of the subject. Middleton stated that Leslie would perceive from the terms of the document inclosed, that the only aim of himself and friends was to unite Scotsmen in defence of their common rights, and that the grounds on which they had entered into the association were precisely the same as those professed by Leslie himself. As the independence of Scotland was at stake, and as Scotsmen should unite for the preservation of their liberties, he proposed to join Leslie, and to put himself under his command, and he expressed a hope that Leslie would not shed the blood of his countrymen, or force them to the unhappy necessity of shedding the blood of their brethren in self defence.* The negotiation thus begun was finally concluded on the fourth of November at Strathbogie, agreeably to a treaty between Leslie and the chief royalists, by which the latter accepted an indemnity and laid down their arms.

Cromwell did not follow up his success as might have been expected, but contented himself with laying siege to the castle of Edinburgh, and pushing forward his advanced posts as far as Linlithgow. While at Edinburgh he frequently sermonised his officers in his peculiar strain, exhorting them to brotherly love, to repent from dead works, and to bewail the blindness of their Scottish adversaries, and he opened a theological correspondence with some ministers who had taken refuge in the castle of Edinburgh after the battle of Dunbar, to whom he communicated his views of independency; but he failed in making any proselytes among these sturdy sons of the kirk, but with all his fondness for theological controversy, in which he considered himself no ordinary adept, a controversy to him of a much more important character than the contest between independency and presbytery now presented itself among the Scots, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 129.

Among the leading covenanters both in parliament and the church, there were some whose political ideas were pretty similar to those of Cromwell, respecting monarchical government, and who had not only approved of the execution of the late king, but were desirous of excluding his son from the crown of Scotland. This party, though a minority, made up for its numerical inferiority, by the talents, fanaticism, and restless activity of its partisans; but formidable as their opposition in parliament was, they found themselves unable effectually to resist the general wish of the nation in favour of the king, and yielded to the force of circumstances. By excluding, however, the royalists from the camp, and keeping the king in a state of subjection to their authority, they had succeeded in usurping the government, and had the disaster of Dunbar not occurred, might have been enabled to carry their designs against the monarchy into effect; but notwithstanding this catastrophe, they were not discouraged, and as soon as they had recovered from the temporary state of alarm into which the success of Cromwell had thrown them, they began to concert measures, in accordance with a plan they now contemplated, for making themselves altogether independent of parliament. For this purpose, under the pretence of opposing the common enemy, they solicited and obtained permission from the committee of estates to raise forces in the counties of Dumfries, Galloway, Wigton, Air, and Renfrew, the inhabitants of which were imbued with a sterner spirit of fanaticism, and therefore more ready to support their plans, than those of any other parts of Scotland. By bringing in the exhortations of Gillespie and others of the more rigid among the ministers to their aid, they succeeded in a short time in raising a body of nearly five thousand horse, over which Strachan, Kerr, and two other colonels, all mere tools of the party, were placed.

As soon as the leaders of this faction, of whom Johnston of Warriston, the clerk-register, was chief, had collected these levies, they began to develop the plan they had formed of withdrawing themselves from the control of the committee of estates by raising a variety of objections against the line of conduct pursued by the committee, and, till these were removed, they refused to unite "the western army," as this new force was called, with the army under Leslie. Cromwell, aware of this division in the Scottish army, endeavoured to widen the breach by opening a correspondence with Strachan, who had fought under him at Preston, which had this effect that Strachan soon went over to the English army with a body of troopers. Leslie complained to the estates of the refusal of the western forces to join him, and solicited to be recalled from his charge, but they declined to receive his resignation, and sent a deputation, consisting of Argyle, Cassilis, and other members to the western army, "to solicit unity for the good of the kingdom."* So unsuccessful, however, was the deputation in bring-

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 123.

ing about this desired "unity," that, on the seventeenth of October, an elaborate paper, titled, "the humble Remonstrance of the Gentlemen, Commanders, and Ministers attending the forces in the west," addressed to the committee of estates, was drawn up and presented by Sir George Maxwell to them, at Stirling, on the twenty-second. In this document the remonstrants professed to inform the committee "freely and faithfully concerning the causes and remedies of the Lord's indignation," which had gone out against his people, among the first of which they reckoned the backsliding from the covenant, "the great and mother sin of the nation," as the principal. The chief remedy proposed was to remove from the presence of the king, the judicatories and the armies, the "malignants," whom many of the committee were accused of having received "into intimate friendship," admitting them to their councils, and bringing in some of them to the parliament and committees, and about the king, thereby affording "many pregnant presumptions," of a design on the part of some of the committee of estates, "to set up and employ the malignant party," or at least, giving "evidences of a strong inclination to intrust them again in the managing of the work of God."* The committee of estates paid no regard to this remonstrance, a circumstance which gave such umbrage to Warriston and the leaders of the western army, that they drew up another, couched in still stronger language, on the thirtieth of October, at Dumfries, whither they had retired with the army on a movement made by Cromwell to the west. In this fresh remonstrance the faction declared that as it was now manifest that the king was opposed to the work of God and the covenants, and cleaving to the enemies of both, they would not regard him or his interest in their quarrel with the invaders; that he ought not to be intrusted in Scotland with the exercise of his power till he gave proofs of a real change in his conduct; and that an effectual course ought to be taken for preventing, in time coming, "his conjunction with the malignant party," and for investigating into the cause of his late flight; and that the malignants should be rendered incapable in future of hurting the work and people of God.†

A petition having been presented to the committee of estates on the nineteenth of November, requiring a satisfactory answer to the first remonstrance, a joint declaration was issued by the king and the committee on the twenty-fifth, declaring "the said paper, as it related to the parliament and civil judicatories, to be scandalous and injurious to his majesty's person, and prejudicial to his authority;" and the commission of the General Assembly having been required to give their opinion upon the remonstrance, in so far as it related to religion and church judicatories, acknowledged that, although it contained "many sad truths in relation to the sins charged upon the king, his family, and the public judicatories," which they were "resolved to hold out, and

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 152.

† Ibid, p. 136.

press upon them in a right and orderly way," together with such other sins as by impartial search, and the help of the Lord's Spirit, on their endeavours therein, they should find, nevertheless, the commission declared itself dissatisfied with the remonstrance, which it considered "apt to breed division in kirk and kingdom."* This declaration of the commission was not only approved of by the General Assembly, but what was of equal importance, that venerable body passed a resolution declaring that in such a perilous crisis all Scotsmen might be employed to defend their country. An exception of persons "excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane, or flagitious, and professed enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God,"† was no doubt made, but this exemption did not exclude *all* the "malignants." A breach was now made in the unity of the Scottish church, and the nation was split into two parties—a division which paved the way for the subjugation of Scotland to the yoke of Cromwell. The party which adhered to the king was distinguished by the name of *Resolutioners*, and the other were denominated *Protesters*, a distinction which was kept up for several years.

Nothing could be more gratifying to Cromwell than to see the Scots thus divided among themselves, and keeping up two distinct armies in the field, mutually opposed to each other. He had by negotiation and intrigue contributed to increase the irritation between the two parties, and he had even succeeded in sowing the seeds of dissension among the leaders of the western army itself. Strachan, his old friend, had resigned the command which had been conferred on Kerr, who was by no means hearty in the cause. In this situation of matters Cromwell resolved, in the meantime, to confine his attention to the operations of the western army, with the intention, if he succeeded in defeating it, of marching north with the whole of his forces, and attacking the royal army. As the castle of Edinburgh was still in the hands of the covenanters, Cromwell could only spare a force of about seven thousand horse, which he accordingly sent west about the end of November, under Lambert, to watch Kerr's motions. Intelligence of this movement was received by the parliament then sitting at Perth, on the thirtieth of November, in consequence of which Colonel Robert Montgomery was despatched with three regiments to support the western army, the command of which he was requested by the parliament to take; and, to enforce this order, the committee on military affairs was directed to send a deputation to the western forces to intimate to them the command of the parliament. Before the arrival, however, of Montgomery, Kerr was defeated on the first of December, in an attack he made on Lambert at Hamilton, in which he himself was taken prisoner, and the whole of his forces dispersed.* This victory gave Cromwell quiet possession of the whole of

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 175.

† Wedrow Introd. iii.

‡ Balfour, vol. iv. p. 193—195.

Scotland, south of the Clyde and the Forth, with the exception of Stirling, and a small tract around it; and as the castle of Edinburgh surrendered on the twenty-fourth of December, Stirling castle was the only fortress of any note, south of the Forth, which remained in the possession of the royalists at the close of the year.

A considerable time, however, elapsed before Cromwell found himself in a condition to commence his intended campaign beyond the Forth. His inactivity is to be ascribed partly to an ague with which he was seized in February, and which had impaired his health so much that in May he obtained permission to return to England to recruit his debilitated constitution; but a sudden and favourable change having taken place in the state of his health, he gladly remained with the army, which he put in motion towards Stirling on the third of July, sixteen hundred and fifty-one.

The Scottish parliament was fully aware of the impending danger, and made the necessary preparations to meet it, but the engagers and the party of Argyle did not always draw together; yet the king had the address by his accommodating and insinuating behaviour, to smooth down many differences, and thus prepared the way for that ascendancy which his friends, the Hamiltons, afterwards obtained. The coronation of the king took place at Scone, on the first of January, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, in pursuance of an order of the parliament. His conduct on that occasion added greatly to his growing popularity. The first trial of strength, to borrow a modern parliamentary phrase, which took place in the parliament, was on the twenty-third of December, sixteen hundred and fifty, on the nomination of colonels to the different horse and foot regiments then in the course of being raised. A list of them had been submitted to the house on the twentieth, which contained about an equal number of royalists and covenanters. This gave rise to a long debate, but the list was finally approved of. On the following day, however, the lord-chancellor (Loudon) protested against the nomination, on the ground that some of the persons appointed had served under Montrose, while others were "engagers." A conference of the house "for removing of jealousies and prejudices in the business of the nomination of colonels," was in consequence ordered, and the parliament having met on the twenty-third, the house resolved itself into a committee for a conference, and adjourned for half an hour. The conference, however, came to nothing, and when the house resumed its sitting a motion was made by the covenanting party that the names of the lords Erskine, Drummond, and Ogilvy should be struck off the list of colonels, which being put to the vote, was negatived.*

Among the colonels of foot, were the earls of Athole and Tulliebarline, and the master of Gray for Perth, the lairds of Maclean and Ard-

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 214.

kinlass for Argyle and Bute ; the laird of Grant and the sheriff of Moray for Nairne, Elgin, and " Grant's Lands ;" the lairds of Pluseardine, Balnagowan, the master of Lovat, and the laird of Lumlair, for Inverness and Ross ; Lord Sutherland and Henry Mackay of Skowrie, for Sutherland and Strathnaver ; the master of Caithness for Caithness ; and Duncan Macpherson for Badenoch. The clans in the Highlands and the Isles were to be commanded respectively by Macdonald, the tutor of Macleod, Clanranald, the tutor of Keppoch, the laird of Lochaber, the tutor of Maclean, Lochiel, Macneil of Barra, Lauchlane Mackintosh, and the laird of Jura.*

Argyle and his party made several attempts, afterwards, to check the rising influence of the Hamiltons, by opposing the different plans submitted to the parliament for rendering the army more efficient, but they were outvoted. The finishing blow was given to their hopes by the appointment of the king to the chief command of the army, and by the repeal of the " act of classes," which excluded the royalists from having any share in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, and from serving their country.

In expectation of Cromwell's advance, the Scots had raised, during the spring, strong fortifications along the fords of the river Forth, to obstruct his passage, and had entrenched themselves at the Torwood, having the town of Stirling at their back, in which position Cromwell found them when he advanced west in July. As he considered it dangerous to attempt to carry such a strong position in the face of an army of about twenty thousand men, (for such it is said was the number of the Scots,) he endeavoured, by marches and countermarches, to draw them out ; but although they followed his motions, they took care not to commit themselves, by going too far from their lines of defence. Seeing no chance of bringing them to a general engagement, Cromwell adopted the bold plan of crossing the Frith of Forth at Queensferry, and of throwing himself into the rear of the Scottish army. While, therefore, he continued, by his motions along the Scottish lines, to draw off the attention of the Scottish commanders from his plan, he, on the twentieth of July, sent over Lambert, with a large division of his army in a number of boats which had been provided for the occasion. He landed without opposition and proceeded immediately to fortify himself on the hill between the North Ferry and Inverkeithing. General Holburn was immediately despatched with a large force to keep Lambert in check. The parties encountered each other on the twentieth of July, and the Scots, though they fought with great bravery, were defeated. A body of Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves. The loss of the Scots was considerable ; and among the slain were the young chief of Maclean and about a hundred of his friends and followers. This victory opened a free passage to Cromwell to the north of Scot-

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 210—212.

land. He immediately, therefore, crossed the Forth with the remainder of his army, and proceeded to Perth, of which he took possession on the second of August.

While the Scottish leaders were puzzled how to extricate themselves from the dilemma into which they had been thrown by the singular change which had lately taken place in the relative position of the two armies, the king alone seemed free from embarrassment, and at once proposed to his generals, that, instead of following Cromwell, or waiting till he should attack them, they should immediately invade England, where he expected to be joined by numerous royalists, who only required his presence among them at the head of such an army, to declare themselves. Under existing circumstances, the plan, though at once bold and decisive, was certainly judicious, and, therefore, it is not surprising that it should have received the approbation of the chiefs of the army. Having obtained their concurrence, the king immediately issued a proclamation on the thirtieth of July, to the army, announcing his intention of marching for England the following day, accompanied by such of his subjects as were willing to give proofs of their loyalty by sharing his fortunes. This appeal was not made in vain, and Charles found himself next morning in full march on the road to Carlisle, at the head of eleven, or, as some accounts state, of fourteen thousand men. Argyle, as was to be expected, excused himself from accompanying the army, and obtained permission to retire to his castle.†

Although Cromwell was within almost a day's march of the Scottish army, yet, so sudden and unexpected had been its departure, and so secretly had the whole affair been managed, that it was not until the fourth of August that he received the extraordinary intelligence of its departure for England. Cromwell was now as much embarrassed as the Scottish commanders had lately been, for he had not the most distant idea, when he threw himself so abruptly into their rear, that they would adopt the bold resolution of marching into England. As soon, however, as he had recovered from the surprise into which such an alarming event had thrown him, he despatched letters to the parliament, assuring them of his intention to follow the Scots army without delay, and exhorting them not to be discouraged, but to rely on his activity. He also sent Lambert with a force of three thousand cavalry to harass the rear of the Scots army, and forwarded orders to Harrison, who was then at Newcastle, to press upon their flank with a similar number; and, in a few days, he himself crossed the Forth with an army of ten thousand men and proceeded along the eastern coast, in the direction of York, leaving Monk behind him with a force of five thousand horse and foot to complete the reduction of Scotland.

The Scottish army made a rapid march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Warrington on the sixteenth of August. Here Lambert and Harrison, who had just met at Warrington, and whose united forces amounted to

† Leicester's Journal, p. 110. Whitelock, 501. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 397.

nine thousand men, resolved to dispute the passage of the Mersey, but the Scottish army had passed the bridge before their arrival. A few charges ensued, and Lambert and Harrison, in expectation of a general engagement, drew up their forces on Knutsford-heath; but the king declined battle, and continued his march towards Worcester, which he entered on the twenty-second. A number of the country gentlemen who were confined in that city on account of their loyalty, welcomed the king with the warmest congratulations, and he was immediately proclaimed by the Mayor with great solemnity, amidst the rejoicings of the royalists. *

The approach of the Scottish army filled the minds of the English parliamentary leaders with dismay, and they at first imagined that a private arrangement had been made between Cromwell and the king; but their apprehensions were soon relieved, by the receipt of Cromwell's despatches, and by a proclamation which the king had issued on entering England, promising pardon to all his subjects, with the exception of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Cook. As soon as the alarm had subsided, measures, the most active and strong, were adopted by Cromwell's council, to meet the pressing emergency. They proclaimed the king and his supporters guilty of high treason, and the declaration of the king was burned in London, by the hands of the hangman. All persons suspected of loyalty, were either confined, or narrowly watched, and death was declared to be the penalty of those who should enter into any correspondence with the king. Bodies of militia were instantly raised in several counties, and marched off to the aid of the regular forces: † Had these exertions been met by similar efforts on the part of the English royalists, the cause of the king might have triumphed, but so sudden and unexpected had been the arrival of the king, that they were quite unprepared to receive him, and the measures of the leaders at Westminster were so prompt and energetic, that they had not sufficient time to collect their scattered strength, or to concert any combined plan of operations. Yet notwithstanding these difficulties, a pretty considerable force might have been drawn together, but for the fanaticism of the Scots, who would not, contrary to the order of the king, allow any auxiliaries to join them, who had not taken the covenant.

When Charles, therefore, arrived at Worcester, he found that he had obtained no accession of force on his march, and he even found that his little army had been reduced by desertion. To increase the army he issued a proclamation, calling upon all his male subjects, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to join his standard at a general muster to be held on the twenty-sixth of August; but little attention was paid to the order, and when the day of muster arrived, he found that his army amounted to about twelve thousand men only, including about two thousand Englishmen. To attack this force, large bodies of troops were concentrating near Worces-

* Leicester's Journal, 113, 114. Whitelock, 502—3. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 402.

† Journals, Aug. 12.

ter, and on the twenty-eighth of August, when Cromwell arrived to take the command, the army of the republic amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men, who hailed the presence of their commander with rapture.

The Lord General now perceived that the time had arrived for striking a decisive blow; but as the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar was near at hand, he resolved to defer his grand attack till that day, so fortunate for his arms, and, in the mean time, employed himself in a series of operations for hemming in the royal army, in the course of which several brilliant affairs took place with alternate success. At last, on the morning of the third of September, sixteen hundred and fifty one, just twelve months after the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, Cromwell, after reminding his troops of the victory they had achieved on that auspicious day, put his army in motion. The first movement was made by Fleetwood, who having advanced from Upton to Powick, proceeded towards the Team, the passage of which he was ordered to force, and to keep up a communication with him, Cromwell threw a bridge of boats across the Severn at Buns hill, near the confluence of the two rivers. A discharge of musketry in the direction of Powick about one in the afternoon, when the king and his staff were observing the position of the enemy from the tower of the cathedral, was the first intimation they received of Cromwell's attack. The party immediately descended, and the king at the head of a party of horse and foot under the command of Montgomery, flew forward to oppose the advance of Fleetwood's brigade across the Team. A furious contest took place, but the steadiness and perseverance of Fleetwood's men, overcame all opposition; yet although they effected the passage of the river, and were afterwards aided by four regiments which Cromwell sent to their assistance, the Scots disputed every inch of ground, and repeatedly charged the enemy with the pike.

While this sanguinary struggle was going on, Cromwell, after securing the communication across the Severn by the bridge of boats which he threw over it, advanced to Perry-wood and Red-hill, and directed a fire to be opened from a battery of heavy guns upon a fortification named Fort Royal, which had been recently raised to cover the Sidbury gate of the city. This movement, which isolated the divisions of Fleetwood and Cromwell from each other by the interposition of the Severn, seemed to the king a favourable opportunity for attacking that of Cromwell with success, whilst the other was kept in check on the opposite bank. He, therefore, immediately drew together the remainder of his infantry, with which and the Duke of Hamilton's troop of horse, and the English volunteers, he attacked the division under Cromwell. The king himself at the head of the Highlanders, whom he commanded in person, fought with great bravery: his example animated his troops, who drove back the enemy's vanguard, consisting of some regiments of militia, and captured their cannon. Had Leslie come up with his cavalry as was expected, the defeat of Cromwell would have been inevitable, but that officer from some cause or other, never explained, unfortunately remain-

ed in the city and did not make his appearance till Cromwell, who brought up a large body of veteran troops which he had placed in reserve, had repulsed the royalists, who, unable to rally, were fleeing in confusion towards Fort Royal, to seek for protection under its guns. The fugitives entered the city in great disorder, and the king succeeded in rallying them in Friar Street; but although he tried every means which circumstances could admit of, to raise their drooping spirits, he could not prevail upon them to stand firm, and many threw away their arms and fled. In a fit of despair he exclaimed, "Then shoot me dead rather than let me live to see the sad consequences of this day."

In the mean time Fleetwood, after dispersing the division opposed to him, took St Johns, and Cromwell afterwards carried Fort Royal by storm, and put its defenders to the sword. The utmost confusion now prevailed in the city, which was still farther increased by the entrance of Cromwell's troops, who poured into it by the quay, the castle hill, and the Sidbury gate. The situation of the king became critical in the extreme, and his friends advised him to provide immediately for his own safety, as no time was to be lost; he, therefore, instantly threw himself among the Scottish cavalry, and whilst, thus surrounded, he was effecting his escape by the gate of St Martin's to the north, the Earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, Colonel Careless, and a few other devoted adherents at the head of some determined troopers, charged the enemy in their advance in the contrary direction up Sidbury Street, and checked them effectually till the king was out of danger.*

This battle, which Cromwell admits "was as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever he had seen," † was very disastrous to the royalists, three thousand of whom were killed on the spot, and a considerably larger number taken prisoners, and even the greater part of the cavalry, who escaped from the city, were afterwards taken by detachments of the enemy. The duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded in the field of battle, and the earls of Derby, Lauderdale, Rothes, Cleveland and Kelly; the lords Sinclair, Kenmore and Grandison, and the generals Leslie, Middleton, Massey and Montgomery, were successively made prisoners after the battle. When the king considered himself free from immediate danger, he separated, during the darkness of the night, from the body of cavalry which surrounded him, and with a party of sixty horse proceeded to Whiteladies, a house belonging to one Giffard a recusant, and royalist, at which he arrived at an early hour in the morning, after a ride of twenty five miles. Here commenced, on the same day, the first of those extraordinary adventures which befel the king, accompanied by a series of the most singular hair-breadth escapes, as related by the historians of the period, between the third of September and the seventeenth of October, the day on which he landed in safety at Fecamp in Normandy.

* Boscobel, p. 10, 14, 22. Whitelock, p. 507, 8. Bates, part ii. p. 221. Par. Hist. vol. xx. p. 40, 44—55 Ludlow, vol. i. p. 314. Lingard, vol. vii. p. 61.

† Parlt. Hist. vol. xx. p. 41.

CHAPTER IV.

Operations of Monk in Scotland—Storming of Dundee—Treaty with the Marquis of Huntly and Lord Balcarras—Fruitless expeditions into the Highlands—Administration of affairs under Monk—Insurrection in the Highlands, under the Earl of Glencairn—Defeat of Colonel Kidd—Retreat of Glencairn to Abernethy forest—Defection of Lord Lorn—Pursued by Glengarry—Glencairn joined by Colonel Wogan—Marches to Elgin—Landing of Middleton in Sutherland—Joined by Glencairn—Mustering of the army at Dornoch—Disputes among the royalists—Defection of Glencairn—Arrival of Monk—Defeat of Middleton—Intrigues of Cromwell and Mazarine—Doubtful policy of Monk—Negotiation between him and Charles II.—Restoration of Charles—Trial and execution of the Marquis of Argyle—Feud between the Earl of Argyle and the Macleans—Argyle invades Mull—Submission of the Macleans—They refuse to pay the sums promised—Supported by other clans—Ineffectual attempt to invade Mull a second time—Dispute referred to the privy council—The Highland host in the west—Trial and condemnation of the Earl of Argyle—He escapes—His expedition into Scotland—Apprehension and execution.

While Cromwell was following the king through England, Monk proceeded to complete the subjugation of Scotland. He first laid siege to Stirling castle, into which he threw shells from batteries he had raised, the explosion of which so alarmed the Highlanders who composed the garrison, that they forced the governor to surrender. All the records of the kingdom, the royal robes, and part of the regalia, which had been locked up in the castle as a place of perfect security, fell into the hands of the captors, and were sent by Monk to England. He next proceeded to Dundee, which was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned, and contained within it an immense quantity of costly furniture and plate, besides a large sum of money, all of which had been lodged in the town for safety. After arriving in the neighbourhood of Dundee, information was brought to him that the committees of estates and the kirk were sitting at Ellet in Angus. Monk, thereupon, despatched five hundred horse under the command of Colonels Alured and Morgan, who entered Ellet at four o'clock in the morning of Thursday the twenty eighth of August, and surprised the whole party and made them prisoners, along with several gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Among those taken were old Leslie Earl of Leven, the Earl of Crawford, the Earl Marshall, Lord James Oglivy, Sirs Adam Hepburn and James Foulis, the Lairds of Ormiston and Pourie, and eight ministers, all of whom were shipped at Broughty and sent prisoners to England.* It is said that one Buchan who held the commission of "scout-master" in the Scottish army, conducted the English cavalry to Ellet by a private road, to prevent their approach being discovered.†

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 314-15.

† Gordon's Continuation, p. 560.

When the necessary preparations for an assault had been completed, Monk sent a summons to Lumsden, the governor of Dundee, to surrender, but he rejected it with disdain. The obstinacy of Lumsden exasperated Monk, who ordered his troops to storm the town, and to put the garrison and all the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, to the sword. The town was accordingly carried by assault on the first of September, and was followed by all the horrors which an infuriated soldiery could inflict upon a defenceless population. The townsmen gave no aid to the garrison, and when the republican troops entered the town, they found the greater part of them lying drunk in the streets. The carnage was stayed, but not until eight hundred males, including the greater part of the garrison, and about two hundred women and children, were killed. Among the slain, was Lumsden the governor, who although he had quarter given him by Captain Kelly, was nevertheless shot dead by Major Butler as Kelly was conducting him along the street to Monk. Besides the immense booty which was in the town, about sixty ships which were in the harbour of Dundee with their cargoes, fell into the hands of the English. *

The capture of Dundee was immediately followed by the voluntary surrender of St Andrews, Montrose and Aberdeen. Some of the committee of estates who had been absent from Ellet, held a meeting at Inverury, to deliberate on the state of matters, at which the Marquis of Huntly presided, and at which a motion was made, to invest him with full authority, to act in the absence of the king: but the meeting broke up on hearing of Monk's approach. The committee retired across the Spey, but Huntly went to Strathdon along with his forces. Monk did not proceed farther north than Aberdeen at this time.

The Marquis of Argyle, who had given great offence to Cromwell, by his double dealing, seeing now no chance of opposing successfully the republican arms, made an attempt at negotiation, and sent a letter by a trumpeter to Monk, proposing a meeting at some convenient place, "as a means to stop the shedding of more Christian blood." The only answer which Monk gave to the messenger, who arrived at Dundee on the nineteenth of October, was, that he could not treat without orders from the parliament of England. This refusal on the part of Monk to negotiate, was a sore disappointment to Argyle, as it disappointed the hopes he entertained of getting the English government to acknowledge a debt which he claimed from them. †

Monk now turned his whole attention to the state of matters in the North, where some forces were still on foot, under the respective commands of the marquis of Huntly, and lord Balcarrais. With the former he concluded an agreement on the twenty first of November, under which Huntly consented to disband his men; and on the third of December, a similar treaty was entered into between Balcarrais and Colo-

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 315. Echard, 698.

† Heath, 304, 308, 310, 313. Whitelock, 514, 534, 543.

nels Overton and Lilburn. Shortly after the English army crossed the Spey and entered Inverness, where they planted a garrison; so that before the end of the year, the whole of the Lowlands and a part of the Highlands had submitted to the arms of the republic. * To complete the destruction of the independence of Scotland, a destruction accomplished less by the power of her enemy, than by the perversity of her sons, and to reduce it to a province of England, the English army was augmented to twenty thousand men, and citadels erected in several towns, and a long chain of military stations drawn across the country to curb the inhabitants. All the crown lands were declared public property by the English parliament, and the estates of all persons who had joined in the English invasions, under the king and the duke of Hamilton, were confiscated by the same authority. An exception was, however, made in favour of those engaged in trade, whose property did not exceed £5 value; and of persons not so engaged, who were worth no more than £100. A proclamation was issued, abolishing all authority not derived from the English parliament: all persons holding public appointments, whose fidelity to the new order of things was suspected, were dismissed, and their places supplied by others of more subservient principles; and the supreme courts of justice were abolished, and English judges appointed to discharge the judicial functions, aided by a few natives.†

As several bodies of Highlanders still remained under arms in the interior of the Highlands, Monk directed three distinct parties to cross the mountains, simultaneously, in the summer of sixteen hundred and fifty two. While colonel Lilburn advanced from Inverness towards Lochaber on one side, general Dean led his troops from Perth in the same direction on the other, and colonel Overton landed in Kintyre with a force from Ayr. But they were all obliged speedily to retrace their steps, amid the jeers and laughter of the Highlanders.‡

The administration of the affairs of Scotland was committed to Monk, than whom a more prudent person, and better calculated to disarm the indignant feelings of the Scots at their national degradation, could not have been selected. But as it was evident that order could not be restored,

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 345. Gordon's Continuation, p. 561.

† Whitelock, p. 528, 542. Leicester's Journal, p. 129. Journals Nov. 19.

‡ Alluding to Lilburne's expedition, Balfour says, "The Frassers came in to them, and condescendit to pay them cesse; bot Glengarey stood out, and in effecte the heighlandmen fooled them home againe to the lowlandes; some with faire wordes; others stode to ther defence; and the Inglish finding nothing amongst them save hunger and strokes, were glad, (ther bisquet and cheesse being all spent, and ther clothes worne, with their horssees out-tyred,) to returne, cursing the heighlandes, to ther winter quarters." He says that General Dean "lost some few men and horssees in viewing of the heighlanders." But Overton encountered the greatest danger: for, says the same writer, "If my Lord Marquesse of Argyle had not protected him, he and all that wes with him had gottin ther throottes cutte. So, weill laughin at by the heighlanders, he wes forced to returne with penurey aneuche, werey glade all of them that ther lives were saved."—Vol. iv. p. 349–50.

or obedience enforced, as long as the clergy were allowed to continue their impertinent meddling in state affairs, and to which all the calamities which had befallen the kingdom were to be attributed, he prohibited the meetings of the General Assembly, and, in one instance, dispersed that body by a military force. In doing so, it was afterwards admitted by some of the clergy themselves,* that he had acted wisely, as the shutting up of the assembly tended greatly to allay those fierce contentions between the protesters and resolutioners, which, for several years, distracted the nation, and made them attend more to the spiritual concerns of their flocks.† The spirit of dissent was not, however, confined to the clergy, but extended its withering influence to many of the laity, who, to gratify their revenge, accused one another of the most atrocious crimes before the newly constituted tribunal. The English judges were called to decide upon numerous acts alleged to have been committed twenty or thirty years before, of which no proofs were offered, but extorted confessions in the kirk, and no less than sixty persons were brought before them accused of witchcraft, who had been tortured into an admission of its practices. All these cases were dismissed, and the new judges administered the laws throughout with an equity and moderation which was almost unknown before in Scotland, and which formed a singular contrast with the disregard of justice, and the extreme violence which had of late disgraced the Scottish tribunals.

With a short interruption, occasioned by an insurrection, under the earl of Glencairn, in the Highlands, Scotland now enjoyed tranquillity till the restoration of Charles II., and comparative prosperity and hap-

* "They, (the English,) did not permit the General Assembly to sit, (and in this I believe they did no bad office,) for both the authority of that meeting was denied by the protesters, and the assembly seemed to be more sett upon establishing themselves than promoting religion. . . . Besides the ministers, after some years, began to look at the questions about which they had decided as inconsiderable. And what did it import, whether the king was a real covenanter and presbyterian, as the public resolutioners said, or that he had only dissembled for his interest, as the protesters said, while in the mean time he was a banished man, and out of case either to fulfill or violate his covenant?"—*Kirkton*, p. 54—5.

† "And I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of treple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace than was in their time. Ministers were painful, people were diligent; and if a man had seen one of their solemn communions, where many congregations mett in great multitudes, some dozen of Ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance, (so serious were they in spiritual exercises,) for three days at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world."—*Ibid.*

"It is not to be forgotten, that from the year 1652 to the year 1660, there was great good done by the preaching of the Gospell in the west of Scotland, more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years before; a great many brought in to Christ Jesus by a saving work of conversion, which occasioned through ministers preaching nothing all that tyme but the gospell, and had left off to preach up parliaments, armies, leagues, resolutions, and remonstrances, which was much in use before, from the year 1638 till that time 52, which occasioned a great number of hypocrytes in the clurche, who, out of hope of preferment, honour, riches, and worldly credit, took on the forme of godliness, but wanted the power of it."—*Law's Memorials*

piness, a compensation in some degree for the loss of her liberties. The interruption alluded to took place in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-three, on the departure of Monk from Scotland to take the command of the English fleet, of which interruption the following are the details :—

In the month of August, sixteen hundred and fifty-three, a meeting was held at Lochearn, which was attended by Glencairn, the earl of Athole, Lord Lorn, eldest son of the marquis of Argyle, Glengarry, Lochiel, Graham of Deuchrie, Macgregor, tutor of Macgregor, Farquharson of Inverey, Robertson of Strowan, Macnaughton of Macnaughton, and Colonel Blackadder of Tullyallan. At this meeting, which continued several days, it was ultimately agreed that the persons present should assemble their vassals and dependents with as little delay as possible, and place themselves under the command of Glencairn, who was to wait in the neighbourhood of Lochearn till the different parties should collect and bring together their respective forces. Six weeks were, however, allowed to expire before any assemblage took place, during all which time Glencairn roamed through the neighbouring mountains, attended only by one companion and three servants. The first who made his appearance was Graham of Deuchrie, at the head of forty men. He was followed, in two or three days, by the tutor of Macgregor, and eighty of that clan. With this force he went to Deuchrie house, where he was joined by Lord Kenmure, and about forty horsemen from the west, and by Colonel Blackadder, with thirty more whom he had raised in Fife. The laird of Macnaughton also arrived with twelve horse, and a party of between sixty and eighty lowlanders, under the command of Captain Hamilton, brother to the laird of Milntown. The earl's force thus amounted to nearly three hundred men.

On hearing of the assemblage of this body, Colonel Kidd, the governor of Stirling castle, at the head of the greater part of a regiment of foot, and a troop of horse, marched towards Aberfoyle, which was within three miles of Glencairn's camp; but having received notice of his approach, the earl took care to secure the adjoining pass. He posted his foot to the best advantage on both sides, and he drew up the horse under Lord Kenmure in the centre. Although Kidd must have perceived the great risk he would run in attempting to carry the pass, he nevertheless made the attempt, but his advance was driven back at the first charge by the lowlanders and Deuchrie's men, with whom they first came in contact, with the loss of about sixty men. The whole of Kidd's party, thereupon, turned their backs and fled. They were hotly pursued by Glencairn's horse and foot, who killed about eighty of them.

The news of Kidd's defeat, trifling as it was, raised the hopes of the royalists, and small parties of Highlanders flocked daily to Glencairn's standard. Leaving Aberfoyle, he marched to Lochearn, and thence to Loch Rannoch where he was met by several of the clans. Glengarry brought three hundred, Lochiel four hundred, and Macgregor

about two hundred men. The earl of Athole appeared at the head of a hundred horse, and brought also a regiment of foot, consisting of about twelve hundred men, commanded by Andrew Drummond, brother to Sir James Drummond of Mechaney, as his lieutenant-colonel. Sir Arthur Forbes and some officers, with about eighty horsemen, also joined the royal army.

Having despatched some officers to the lowlands, with instructions to raise forces, Glencairn marched north to join Farquharson of Inverey, who was raising a regiment in Cromar. In the course of his march, several gentlemen of the adjoining country joined him. Morgan, the English general, who was lying at the time in Aberdeen, being apprised of Farquharson's movements, collected a force of two thousand foot and one thousand horse, with which he advanced, by forced marches, towards Cromar, and a brisk attack upon the outposts of Glencairn's army was the first intelligence they received of Morgan's approach. In the situation in which Glencairn thus found himself unexpectedly placed, he had no remedy but an immediate retreat through a long and narrow glen leading to the forest of Abernethy, which he was enabled to reach chiefly by the bravery of Graham of Deuchrie, who, at the head of a resolute party of forty men, kept in check a body of the enemy who had entered the glen before the royalists, and prevented them from securing the passes. Morgan pursued the fugitives through the glen very closely, and did not desist till prevented by the darkness of the night. He thereafter returned to Aberdeen.

Glencairn passed about five weeks in Cromar and Badenoch, waiting for additional reinforcements; and as Lord Lorn had not yet joined him, he despatched Lord Kenmure with a hundred horse into Argyleshire to urge him to hurry forward the levies in that quarter. Lorn soon arrived in Badenoch with a thousand foot and about fifty horse; but he had not remained above a fortnight in the field when, on some pretence or other, he clandestinely left the army, and carried off his men along with him, taking the direction of Ruthven castle, which was then garrisoned by English troops. Glencairn was greatly exasperated at Lorn's defection, and sent a party of horse, under the command of Glengarry and Lochiel, with instructions either to bring him and his men back to the army, or, in case of refusal, to attack them. Glengarry followed the Campbells so hard that he came up with them within half a mile of the castle. Lord Lorn escaped, and was followed by his horse, of whom about twenty were brought back by a party sent in pursuit by Glengarry; the foot halted on a hill, and offered to return to the camp. Glengarry, who had imbibed a great antipathy at the whole race of the Campbells ever since Montrose's wars, would, contrary to his instructions, have attacked them; but Glencairn fortunately arrived in time to prevent bloodshed, and having ordered Graham of Deuchrie to acquaint them that he could not receive any proposals from them with arms in their hands, they delivered them up. Glencairn, along with some

officers, then rode up to them, and having addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct, they all declared their willingness to serve the king and to obey him as their commander, a declaration which both officers and men confirmed with an oath. Their arms were then restored to them, but they all deserted within a fortnight.*

About this time Glencairn was joined by a small party of English royalists, under Colonel Wogan, an enterprising officer, who had landed at Dover, and having raised a body of volunteers in London, traversed England under the banners of the commonwealth, and entered Scotland by Carlisle.

Notwithstanding the desertion of the Campbells, Glencairn's army was so increased by daily accessions of force that he considered himself in a condition to cope with the enemy, and, by the advice of his officers, resolved to descend into Aberdeenshire, and beat up the quarters of the English. Another reason which urged him to leave the Highlands was a scarcity of provisions in the districts which had been occupied by his army, and which could no longer afford to support such a large body of men. Descending by Balveny, he took up his quarters at Whitelums, near the castle of Kildrummie, belonging to the earl of Mar, then garrisoned by the English. After lying about a fortnight at Whitelums unmolested, Glencairn raised his camp, and marching into Morayshire, took possession of Elgin, where he established his head quarters. Here he was joined by the marquis of Montrose, Lord Forrester, and some country gentlemen.

After spending a month at Elgin, where, according to Graham of Deuchrie's narrative, the army had "very good quarters, and where they made themselves merry," the earl received letters from General Middleton, who had sometime before made his escape from the tower of London, where he had been imprisoned after the battle of Worcester, announcing his arrival in Sutherland, with a commission from the king, appointing him generalissimo of all the royal forces in Scotland. Some dissensions had existed among the royalists respecting the chief command of the army, which had been finally conceded to Glencairn; but neither he, nor the nobility who were with him, were prepared to expect that the king would have appointed a man so much their inferior in station as Middleton was to such an important charge. The intelligence was accordingly received with discontent by these feudal sovereigns; but, as the king's commission could not, without serious injury to the royal cause, be disputed, in the present conjuncture they stifled their displeasure, and Glencairn, in terms of the instructions he had received from Middleton to march north, put his army in motion. Morgan, the English commander, having drawn together a body of troops, followed Glencairn, between whose rear and Morgan's advanced guard many warm skirmishes took place. In his march north, Glencairn

* Graham of Deuchrie's Account of Glencairn's Expedition.

tarried a short time before Lethen house, which he summoned its proprietor to surrender for behoof of the king; but he refused to do so, and fired upon the besiegers, of whom four or five were killed. Exasperated at the loss of his men, Glencairn ordered his troops to fill the courts and gates of the house with some stacks of corn which stood in the adjoining inclosures, and to set fire to them, with the intention of stifling the besieged with the smoke. This order was promptly obeyed, but it failed of its intended effect, and Glencairn had the mortification to lose three or four additional men in this absurd enterprise. In revenge for this disappointment, he burnt the stack-yards, and wasted all the lands around the castle belonging to the refractory laird.

Glencairn, thereupon, continued his march, and his men crossed the river Ness, eight miles above Inverness. The horses were made to swim over. The earl having placed guards along the northern bank of the river to watch the approach of the enemy, hastened to Dornoch to meet Middleton. In a few days a grand muster of the army took place, which was ascertained to amount to three thousand five hundred foot, and one thousand five hundred horse. Glencairn then resigned the command to Middleton, in presence of the army, and, riding along the lines, acquainted the troops that he was no longer their general, and expressed a hope that they would find themselves happy in serving under such a commander as Middleton. The troops expressed great dissatisfaction at this announcement by their looks, and some, "both officers and soldiers, shed tears, and vowed that they would serve with their old general in any corner of the world."*

After the review, the earl gave a sumptuous entertainment to Middleton and the principal officers of the army, at which an occurrence took place which soured the temper of the officers, and sowed the seeds of new divisions in the camp. On the cloth being removed, Glencairn proposed the health of the commander-in-chief, whom he thus addressed:—"My lord general, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it could hardly be expected that any number durst meet together: these men have come out to serve his majesty, at the hazard of their lives and all that is dear to them: I hope, therefore, you will give them all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power." Scarcely had these words been uttered when Sir George Munro, who had come over with Middleton from France to act as his lieutenant-general, started up from his seat, and addressing himself to the earl, swore by G—that the men he had that day seen were nothing but a number of thieves and robbers, and that ere long he would bring a very different set of men into the field. These imprudent observations called up Glengarry, but he was restrained by Glencairn, who said that he was more concerned in the affront put upon the army by Munro than he was, and, turning to

* Graham.

Munro, he thus addressed him—"You, Sir, are a base liar; for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but brave gentlemen and good soldiers." A meeting took place in consequence early next morning between Glencairn and Munro, about two miles to the south of Dornoch. The former was accompanied by a servant named White, and the latter by his brother, Alexander Munro. The parties were both mounted on horseback, and it was agreed, that after discharging pistols at each other, they should fight with broadswords. They accordingly fired, but without effect, and immediately began the combat with their swords. Sir George, after a few passes, received a severe wound on the bridle hand. Fearing that he could no longer manage his horse, he called out to the earl that as he was wounded in his left hand he hoped he would allow him to fight on foot. "Yes," exclaimed the earl, "I will show you that I can match you either on foot or on horseback." They then dismounted, and renewed the contest; but Munro, at the first onset, received a severe cut in the forehead, from which the blood issued so copiously as to obscure his vision, and prevent him from following the motions of his adversary. Glencairn was just about running Munro through the body, but was prevented by White, who forced up his sword. The parties then returned to head quarters, when Glencairn was put under arrest in his chamber, by orders of Middleton, and his sword taken from him.

The partiality thus shown to Munro, who was the aggressor, and who had sent the challenge to Glencairn, was exceedingly mortifying to the earl, which being followed by another affair which soon took place, and in which the same partiality was displayed, made him resolve to retire from the army. The occurrence was this:—A dispute having taken place on the merits of the recent quarrel between a Captain Livingston, a friend of Munro, and a gentleman of the name of Lindsay, who had accompanied Lord Napier from the continent, in which Livingston maintained that Munro had acted properly, and the contrary insisted upon by Lindsay; mutual challenges were given, and the parties met on the links of Dornoch to decide the dispute by the sword. Lindsay, being a superior swordsman, run Livingston through the heart at the first thrust, and he expired immediately. Lindsay was immediately apprehended, and although Glencairn, backed by other officers, used every exertion to save him, he was brought to trial before a court-martial, by order of Middleton, and condemned to be shot at the cross of Dornoch, a sentence which was carried into execution the same day.

These unfortunate disputes divided the officers of the army into two parties, and afforded but a sorry prognostic of the prospects of the royalists. Glencairn, no longer able to curb his displeasure, slipped off about a fortnight after Lindsay's death, with his own troop of horse, and a few gentlemen volunteers—a hundred horse in all—and took the direction of Assint. The laird of Assint, who had betrayed Montrose,

on the arrival of Glencairn's party on his lands, offered to assist him to secure the passes, so as to prevent him from being overtaken that night, of which offer Glencairn, though distrustful of Macleod, agreed to accept. Middleton indeed sent a party in pursuit, but they did not come up with Glencairn, who reached Kintail the following day, where he was well received by the earl of Seaforth's people. He remained there a few days, and afterwards traversed the Highlands till he arrived at Killin, at the head of Loch Tay, where he was successively joined by Sir George Maxwell, the earl of Selkirk, and Lord Forrester, each of whom brought a small party of horse along with them, by which additions his force was increased to four hundred horsemen. The earl now appears, for the first time, to have seen the impropriety of his conduct in withdrawing from the army; but as he could not endure the idea of returning himself, he endeavoured to make some reparation by sending this body north to join Middleton, and sought a retreat with the laird of Luss at his castle of Rosedoe, where he despatched some officers to raise men in the lowlands for the king's service.

In the meantime Monk had returned to Scotland, and had brought along with him a strong reinforcement of troops from England, with which he joined Morgan in the north, and marched directly into the Highlands in search of Middleton. It was the intention of the latter to have remained for some time in the Highlands, and to have collected all the forces he possibly could, and to make occasional descents upon the lowlands, and by marches and countermarches to have distracted the enemy; but the advance of Monk into the very bosom of the Highlands, with a large army, frustrated his design. Middleton soon found himself sorely pressed by his able adversary, who brought forward his army in separate divisions, yet not so isolated as not to be able to support each other in case of attack. In an attempt to elude his pursuers, Middleton was surprised in a defile near Lochgarry, by one of these divisions under the command of Morgan. His men were either slain or dispersed, and he himself escaped with difficulty. The chiefs of the insurrection immediately made their peace with Monk, who treated them with great lenity.*

Whilst the Scottish royalists were making an ineffectual attempt to free their country from the yoke of Cromwell, the king appeared to take little concern in the matter, and spent the greater part of his time in indolence and amusement at Paris. Though straitened in his pecuniary circumstances, and wholly dependent upon the liberality of the French king and the eleemosynary aid of his friends in England, he still retained about him the officers of his household and thus kept up the appearance, at least, of a court. The gaieties of the French capital were so congenial to the disposition of the king, as to make the supposition probable, that the longer he remained there the more indiffer-

* Deuchrie's Narrative.

ent he would have become to his own interests and those of his people; but a change of residence to Cologne, whence he had been induced to remove on a negotiation being entered into with Cromwell, by Cardinal Mazarin, made him think more seriously of the affairs of his kingdoms.

During his retreat at Cologne a rupture took place between England and Spain, of which the king endeavoured immediately to avail himself with the view of forwarding his restoration. There were, at this time, several English and Irish regiments in the French service, which he proposed to call from France, and with these, aided by such succours as Spain might afford, he offered to make a descent on England; but although this proposal was entertained by the Spanish ministers at Brussels, in the neighbourhood of which Charles had latterly taken up his residence, it was interrupted for some time by another offer made to the court of Spain, by Colonel Sexby, formerly the adherent, but now the mortal enemy of Cromwell, whom he considered an apostate from the cause of liberty. This man went to Brussels in the month of May, sixteen hundred and fifty-five, and after revealing to the court there, the destination and object of a secret expedition under Venables and Penn, he offered to obtain the aid of the levellers in England to destroy the power of Cromwell, provided they were supplied with money, and had the co-operation of the English and Irish troops in the service of Spain. The court of Spain listened to Sexby's proposals and advanced him a large sum of money, part of which he transmitted to his adherents in England. Sexby, whose designs were made known to Cromwell, afterwards visited England, and after making the necessary arrangements with his brother levellers, returned in safety to the continent.*

The Spanish ministers, who at first were very suspicious of Sexby, were now satisfied of his sincerity, and became anxious to effect a union between him and the king, by means of which they expected to render the subjugation of Cromwell of easier performance. At a meeting which was held in the month of December, sixteen hundred and fifty-six, Sexby agreed to the restoration of a limited monarchy if settled by a free parliament, but in making the attempt to overthrow the usurper, he was anxious that the restoration of the king should not be mentioned, but that their object should be ostensibly confined to the destruction of Cromwell, and to the restoration of public liberty. Though desirous of making use of Sexby's services, Charles considered that he had greatly over-rated his means, and he thought that even according to Sexby's own statement, his associates would not be hostile to royalty.

Both Cromwell and Mazarin grew alarmed at these negotiations. Whilst the latter anticipated a defection of the English and Irish regiments from the French service, as the result, the other dreaded a descent upon England; but fertile in expedients, these two wily politicians soon

* Clarendon, Pap. iii. p. 271, 2, 4, 7—281, 5. Thurloc, Vol. iv. p. 698; v. p. 37, 109, 319, 349; vi. p. 829—33. Cartes Letters, Vol. ii. p. 85, 103.

devised means for counteracting the designs of these different parties. The duke of York, afterwards King James II. had served with great honour under Marshal Turenne, and, by his bravery, had not only gained the esteem of that able commander, but also the hearts of his countrymen. By a secret article in the treaty between France and the Protector it was stipulated that the duke should be banished from France; but in consequence of Charles' offer to the Spanish court the article remained a dead letter, and to prevent a junction between the two brothers, and the consequent defection of the English and Irish regiments in the service of France, the appointment of Captain General in the army of Italy, was conferred upon him by Mazarin, with the approbation of Cromwell who had been consulted in the matter. This plan was, however, frustrated by Charles, who ordered the duke to repair to Bruges immediately, and who, although he had accepted the offer of Mazarin with eagerness, at once complied. This event induced almost the whole of the English and Irish officers in the French army to resign their commissions, and many of the men, following the example of their officers, also left the service. Foiled in this attempt, Cromwell and Mazarin endeavoured by secret intrigue to sow the seeds of distrust in the mind of Don Juan, the governor of the Netherlands. against the duke of York, by spreading a report that James was sincerely attached to France, and that of course little reliance could be placed on him by Spain, and Mazarin and Cromwell so far succeeded in their scheme, that Don Juan gave the real command of the English and Irish forces to Marsin a foreigner, and, with the consent of Charles, made the officers and soldiers take an oath of fidelity to Spain. But this marked distrust of James did not stop here, for Charles prevailed upon to order his brother to dismiss Sir John Berkeley, a favourite, and the secret agent of the French court. The young prince complied, but he was so displeased with the treatment he had received, that he followed Berkeley into Holland intending to proceed through Germany to France. The success of this intrigue was as gratifying to Cromwell as it was annoying to Charles; but Cromwell's joy was of short duration, for a reconciliation soon took place between the royal brothers, and James returned to Breda followed by Berkeley whom the king raised to the peerage.*

The war with Spain was exceedingly unpopular in England, and there seems to be little doubt that had Charles invaded it in due time with a few thousand men, he would have destroyed Cromwell; but the expedition was postponed from month to month, by the Spanish ministers, till the advance of winter when it was too late in the year to undertake it. But the death of Cromwell, which took place on the third of September, sixteen hundred and fifty-eight, and the new aspect of affairs in England altered his views.

* *Memoirs of James*, Vol. i. p. 266, 273, 293. *Thurloe*, Vol. v. p. 735.

Charles was led to believe that Monk, who still held the chief command in Scotland, was by no means unfavourable to him, and even before the death of Cromwell he had been induced to make proposals to him, to which Monk's wife and his domestic chaplain were privy; but although these offers were very tempting and were received by Monk without disapprobation, he never could be prevailed upon to unbosom himself to those who were appointed to sound him. These intrigues were suspected by Cromwell, but as he could never find a clue to their discovery, he facetiously put Monk on his guard by the following post-script to one of his letters to that general. "'Tis said there is a cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who lies in wait there to serve Charles Stuart; pray, use your diligence to take him, and send him up to me."* This notification made Monk even still more reserved, and he observed the same taciturnity when, after the death of Cromwell, a message was brought by Dr Monk, his brother, a clergyman of Cornwall, who was sent down to Scotland by Sir John Grenville, with a letter to Monk from the king. He even dismissed his brother without any particular allusion to the object of his visit, on being informed by him in answer to a preliminary question, that he had already made Monk's chaplain, who was friendly to the king, a party to the secret.

It is clear, however, that Monk had now resolved to join the royal cause; but as secrecy seemed to be indispensable, he concealed his designs, and so effectually, that the most clear sighted could not perceive his object. To break at once with Lambert, Fleetwood, and the other leading republicans who had endeavoured to undermine his power, and who had become very unpopular of late, was the prelude to that successful plan of operations which he carried through to, and by which he accomplished, the restoration of the king. Accordingly, no sooner had he heard of the expulsion of the English parliament, and the high rank of major general of all the forces, which had been conferred on Lambert by his partizans, than he openly declared himself in opposition to Lambert the "assertor of the ancient laws and liberties of the country." Lambert was immediately despatched to the north with a force of seven thousand men against Monk, who was by no means yet ready to receive him. He therefore had recourse to negotiation to obtain delay, and succeeded. Lambert's army did not advance in consequence farther north than Newcastle, and Monk employed the time thus afforded him in raising troops in Scotland, with which he filled up the blanks in his army, occasioned by the dismissal of such of his men as were unfriendly to him. He, thereafter, called a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, from which, on the sixth of December, sixteen hundred and fifty-nine, he obtained a grant of a year's arrears of taxes, amounting to £60,000, besides the duties of excise and customs. The restoration of the English parliament, which had been expelled by Lambert, favoured the designs of Monk, who crossed the

* Price, p. 712.

Tweed on the first of January, sixteen hundred and sixty, to meet Lambert; but a message from the parliament ordering the latter to withdraw, prevented a meeting. Monk proceeded on his march, and entered London on the third of February at the head of his army.

Though appearing to act in conjunction with the parliament, suspicions were entertained that Monk was favourable to the king, and at York he had even caned an officer who had laid to his charge the design of restoring the king. A successful interference, which he made at Nottingham, to prevent his officers from signing a declaration to be obedient to the parliament in all things, "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart," confirmed in some degree these suspicions. But his adherence to the republican party was now to be put to the test by the parliament, which required him as a member of the council of state to abjure the house of Stuart. He hesitated, and as seven of the counsellors had not yet abjured, he required to be first informed why they had not done so. He observed that oaths were easily violated, and that as providence might see fit to restore Charles Stuart, it appeared to him to be a crime to swear against what providence might ordain; that he had already given proofs of his obedience to the parliament, and was ready to give farther marks of his devotion to them. A dispute between the parliament and the common council of London, who had issued a declaration, demanding "a full and free parliament according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the land," soon put Monk's sincerity to the test. On the ninth of February, two hours after midnight, he was ordered to enter the city, to arrest eleven of the principal citizens, and to remove the barricades which had been raised for its defence. He demurred, but at last obeyed; he was received by the citizens with groans and hisses, the soldiers murmured and the officers tendered their resignations; but it was easy to perceive that Monk acted with reluctance; he however proceeded, and after removing the posts and chains of the city, wrote a letter to the speaker, giving his opinion that enough had been done to curb the refractory citizens. The parliament again ordered him to proceed, on which he demolished the gates and portcullises. The discontents of the soldiers now rose to such a height that Monk was obliged to desist, and he returned to his residence at Whitehall.*

Monk on reflection thought he perceived, in the orders he had received, an intention on the part of the parliamentary leaders to embroil him with the citizens, and he therefore took immediate steps to redeem himself, before the parliament should have time to carry its ulterior views respecting him into effect. Accordingly at a council of officers which was held the following day, a letter to the speaker, which with the aid of his confidential advisers he had prepared the previous evening, was laid before them and approved of. In this letter the officers were made to

* Journal, Feb. 9. Price, 761. Ludlow, Vol. ii. p. 336. Philips, 599.

complain, that they had been used as instruments of personal resentment against the citizens, and they were made to require that certain vacancies in the house should be immediately filled, previous to a dissolution of the parliament. After despatching this letter, Monk, without waiting for an answer, marched into Finsbury fields, and summoned a meeting of the common council which had been lately dissolved by a vote of the parliament. At this meeting he declared himself the friend of the citizens, that he would make common cause with them, and endeavour to obtain a full and free parliament. The citizens were thrown into ecstasies at this declaration, and they manifested their joy by the ringing of bells, bon-fires, feasting the soldiers, and "the roasting of the rump."*

At first the parliamentary leaders seemed to disregard this alarming state of things, but on reflection they submitted, invited Monk to return to Whitehall, and ordered writs to be issued for the return of members to supply the vacancies in the representation. In a bill which they introduced for fixing the qualifications of the candidates and electors, they attempted to exclude the royalists by a provision that no person should elect or be elected who did not bind himself to support a republic; but this clause was opposed by those members who had been excluded in the year sixteen hundred and forty eight. Monk purposely avoided taking any share in this dispute, and so indifferent did he appear about it, that, trusting to the impartiality of himself and his officers, the leaders on both sides agreed to refer the dispute to their arbitrament, nine of whom on each side argued the case before this new court. The question was decided in favour of the excluded members, who took their seats on the twenty-first of February, after receiving a declaration from Monk at Whitehall, where he had summoned them to meet him, that he considered republicanism and moderate presbyterianism essential to preserve the tranquillity of the nation. On resuming their seats some of the more furious among the republicans withdrew from the house, a circumstance which favoured the designs of the royalists greatly.†

This declaration alarmed Charles and his friends, who really considered that Monk was sincere in his professions, particularly as he never ceased to declare, both to cavaliers and republicans, that he was for supporting a republican form of government in the state, and presbytery in the church, and so successfully had he practised this deception upon the republican party that many of them believed him sincere, and it was not until he had declared in favour of the claim of the excluded members

* "At Strand-bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires; in King street, seven or eight, and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps; there being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the Maypole in the strand, rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied to it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination." Pepys, Vol. i. p. 28.

† Journals, Feb. 21. Price, 766—773. Ludlow, Vol. ii. 345, 351. Hutchinson, 362.

to their seats, that they began to suspect him; but it was now too late for them to repair the blunder they had committed in trusting so implicitly to him. The presbyterian party had now the ascendancy in parliament, and one of the earliest acts was to appoint Monk commander in chief of the forces in the three kingdoms, and joint commander of the fleet with Admiral Montague. As an indication of their intentions in regard to the king, they released all the Scottish lords, and others who had been taken prisoners after the battle of Worcester.*

Notwithstanding these indications in favour of royalty, Monk still continued to act a doubtful and very mysterious part, and he even stationed guards at the door of the house of lords, to prevent that branch of the legislature from meeting to give its approval to the acts of the commons, lest by doing so, the royal authority might be acknowledged. But the slow motions of Monk did not suit the populace, who proclaimed Charles in several places. The surviving regicides and the purchasers of forfeited property grew alarmed, and to prevent the restoration of the king, they made an offer to the commander in chief of the supreme power, but this he pointedly refused. At length the long parliament, which had sat nineteen years and a half, dissolved itself by its own act, on the sixteenth of March, sixteen hundred and sixty, and having ordered the several officers to join their regiments, and dismissed those whom he distrusted, Monk was left to pursue unmolested his designs for restoring Charles.

Sir John Grenville, who had formerly sent down Monk's brother to Scotland, with a letter from the king, made several attempts to obtain an interview with the Lord General at St James's; but Monk always avoided him. At length by the intervention of one Morrice, well known to both, Grenville was introduced, and delivered a letter to the general from the king, couched in language highly flattering to Monk. He perused the letter with attention, and when he had done reading, remarked that he could not till then declare his intentions with safety, and as there were many persons still about him, who were either inimical to his views, or whose sentiments as to the propriety of a restoration might be doubtful, he would be still constrained for a time to observe a strict secrecy. He therefore jotted down the heads of his answer in writing, and after reading it to Grenville threw the paper into the fire, and desired him to carry the answer in his memory, and after enjoining him to deliver it personally to the king dismissed him.†

Although the republicans used great exertions in the elections, they were defeated in most places by the cavaliers and moderate presbyterians, who having united carried every thing before them. Disappointed in the struggle, the republicans made an appeal to arms, but the few men they were able to bring into the field refused to fight, and Lam-

* Price, 773. Ludlow, 349, 355. Clar. Papers, Vol. iii. p. 678, 697, 783, 711, Journals.

† Clar. Hist. Vol. iii. p. 706, 711, 731-6. Price, 785. Phillips, 605.

bert their commander was taken prisoner. The "convention" parliament met on the twenty-fifth of April. The time had now arrived when Monk had determined to throw off the veil of mystery with which he had covered his designs. Grenville had brought over from Brussels five letters from the king, one of which was addressed to the speaker of the house of commons, another to the lords, a third to the lord mayor and city of London, a fourth to Monk and the army, and a fifth to Montague and the navy. By an arrangement between Monk and Grenville, the latter came to the door of the house of commons whilst Monk was in his seat, and meeting with a member who was entering the council chamber, requested him to inform Monk that a person at the door wished to speak to him ; Monk rose from his seat, went to the door, and received a letter, but observing the royal arms on the seal, he ordered the guards to detain the messenger ; Grenville was brought in by order of the house, and after being interrogated by the speaker how he had come by the letter, was ordered to be taken into custody. Monk interfered, informed the house that the bearer of the letter was his near kinsman, and that he would be security for his appearance. *

This declaration, which revealed the secret of Monk's policy, produced an instantaneous effect in favour of the King, and Grenville took advantage of the favourable opportunity of delivering the letters addressed to the two houses, as well as those to the army and navy, and the city of London. The letters to the two houses contained a paper known in history by the name of the declaration of Breda, where it had been drawn up, in which his majesty, after granting a pardon to all persons but those whom the parliament might except, and declaring that no persons should be disturbed on account of their religious opinions, if consistent with the peace of the kingdom, promised to leave the settlement of all questions which might arise about property which had been purchased or forfeited during the revolution, to the wisdom of parliament ; and he, moreover, promised that the arrears of pay due to Monk's army should be liquidated, that both officers and men should be retained in the service ; and that they should continue to receive the same amount of pay, and enjoy all the privileges they were then vested with.

Though the declaration was not exactly what Monk had required in his private communication to the king, it was deemed so satisfactory that the two houses, the army and navy, and the common council of London, each voted an address of thanks and congratulation to the king, and the nation at large demanded his immediate return. In accordance with this feeling, both houses invited his majesty to come and take possession of his inheritance, and they sent him a present of £50,000 to relieve his immediate wants, £10,000 to the duke of York, and £5,000 to his younger brother the duke of Gloucester. The king was not long in obeying the invitation. He was received at Dover by

* L. Journ. xi. 4, 5, 6.

Monk, at the head of the nobility, whence he proceeded to London, which he entered on the twenty-ninth of May, sixteen hundred and sixty, amidst the acclamations of the citizens.

The news of the king's arrival was received in Scotland with a burst of enthusiasm, not quite in accordance with the national character,* but the idea that the nation was about to regain its liberties, made Scotsmen forget their wonted propriety. Preparatory to the assembling of the Scottish parliament, which was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the first of January, sixteen hundred and sixty-one; Middleton, who had lately been created an Earl, was appointed his majesty's commissioner; the earl of Glencairn, chancellor; the earl of Lauderdale, secretary of state; the earl of Rothes, president of the council; and the earl of Crawford, lord-treasurer.

It would be quite apart from the object of this work to detail the many unconstitutional acts passed by this "terrible parliament," as it is well named by Kirkton; but the trial of the marquis of Argyle must not be overlooked. That nobleman had, on the restoration of the king, gone to London to congratulate his majesty on his return; but on his arrival he was immediately seized and committed to the Tower. He petitioned the king for a personal interview, which was refused, and, to get rid of his importunities, his majesty directed that he should be sent back to Scotland for trial. Being brought to trial, he applied for delay, till some witnesses at a distance should be examined on commission; but this was refused. He, thereupon, claimed the benefit of the amnesty which the king had granted at Stirling. This plea was sustained by desire of the king; but as there were other charges against him, arising out of transactions subsequent to the year sixteen hundred and fifty-one, to which year only the amnesty extended, the trial was proceeded in. These charges were, that he had aided the English in destroying the liberties of Scotland—that he had accepted a grant of £12,000 from Cromwell—that he had repeatedly used defamatory and traitorous language in speaking of the royal family; and, lastly, that he had voted for a bill abjuring the right of the royal family to the crowns of the three kingdoms, which had been passed in the parliament of Richard Cromwell, in which he sat. Argyle denied that he had ever given any countenance or assistance to the English in their invasion of Scotland; but he admitted the grant from Cromwell, which he stated was given, not in lieu of services, but as a compensation for losses sustained by him. He, moreover, denied that he had ever used

* "I believe there was never accident in the world altered the disposition of a people more than that (the king's return) did the Scottish nation. Sober men observed, it not only inebriat but really intoxicate, and made people not only drunk but frantick; men did not think they could handsomely express their joy except they turned brutes for debauch, rebels, and pugeants; yea, many a sober man was tempted to exceed, lest he should be condemned as unnatural, disloyal, and unsensible. Most of the nobility, and many of the gentry, and hungry old souldiers, flew to London, just as the vulture does to the carcase. And though many of them were bare enough, they made no bones to give 15 of the 100 of exchange."—Kirkton, p. 65.

the words attributed to him respecting the royal family, and with regard to the charge of sitting in Richard Cromwell's parliament, he stated that he had taken his seat to protect his country from oppression, and to be ready, should occasion offer, to support by his vote, the restoration of the king. This defence staggered the parliament, and judgment was postponed. In the meantime Glencairn and Rothes hastened to London to lay the matter before the king, and to urge the necessity of Argyle's condemnation. Unfortunately for that nobleman, they had recovered some letters which he had written to Monk and other English officers, in which were found some expressions very hostile to the king, but as these letters have not been preserved, their precise contents are not known. Argyle was again brought before parliament, and the letters read in his presence. He had no explanation to give, and his friends, vexed and dismayed, retired from the house, and left him to his fate. He accordingly received sentence of death on the twenty-fifth of May, sixteen hundred and sixty-one, and, that he might not have an opportunity of appealing to the clemency of the king, he was ordered to be beheaded within forty-eight hours. He employed the short time he had to live in devotion, and in receiving the consolations of his friends, some of whom dined with him a few hours before his execution. After dinner he retired a short time for private prayer, and on returning, told his friends that "the Lord had sealed his charter, and said to him, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven." When brought to the scaffold he addressed the people, protested his innocence, declared his adherence to the covenant, reproved "the abounding wickedness of the land, and vindicated himself from the charge of being accessory to the death of Charles I." With the greatest fortitude he laid his head upon the block, which was immediately severed from his body by the maiden. This event took place upon Monday the twenty-seventh day of May, sixteen hundred and sixty-one. By a singular destiny the head of Argyle was fixed on the same spike which had borne that of his great rival Montrose.*

Argyle was highly esteemed by his party; but there is nothing in his conduct which can be justified by the impartial historian. Duplicity, cunning, cowardice, and avarice, were his characteristic traits. His zeal for religion and the covenant was a mere pretence to enable him to obtain that ascendancy among the covenanters which he acquired, and his affected patriotism was regulated entirely by his personal interests. Yet, whatever were his motives, it cannot be denied that to the exertions of Argyle Scotland is chiefly indebted for the successful stand which was made against the unconstitutional attempts of the elder Charles upon the civil and religious liberties of his Scottish subjects. But, criminal as Argyle was in vituperating the royal family, and showing a predilection for Cromwell, the circumstances of the times would, by impartial

* State Trials, vol. v., 1369—1508. Kirkton, 100—4.

judges, have been considered as affording some extenuation for his conduct, but it was his misfortune to be tried by men who were his enemies, and who did not scruple to violate all the forms of justice to bring him to the block, in the hope of obtaining his vast possessions.

The execution of Argyle was not in accordance with the views of the king, and there is no doubt, that if sufficient time had been allowed him for soliciting the royal mercy, that his life would have been spared. To show his disapprobation of the death of Argyle, the king received Lord Lorn, his eldest son, with favour at court, from which circumstance the enemies of the house of Argyle anticipated that they would be disappointed in their expectations of sharing among them the confiscated estates of the marquis. To impair, therefore, these estates was their next object. Argyle had obtained from the Scottish parliament a grant of the confiscated estate of the marquis of Huntly, his brother-in-law, on the ground that he was a considerable creditor, but as Huntly was indebted to other persons to the extent of 400,000 merks, the estate was burdened to that amount on passing into Argyle's possession. Middleton and his colleagues immediately passed an act, restoring Huntly's estate free of incumbrance, leaving to Huntly's creditors recourse upon the estates of Argyle for payment of their debts. Young Argyle was exasperated at this proceeding, and in a letter to Lord Duffus, his brother-in-law, expressed himself in very unguarded terms respecting the parliament. This letter was intercepted by Middleton, and on it the parliament grounded a charge of verbal sedition, or *leasing-making* as the crime is known in the statutory law of Scotland, an offence which was declared capital by the acts 1424, c. 43 ; and 1540, c. 83 of the Scottish parliament. Upon this vague charge the young nobleman was brought to trial before the parliament, and condemned to death. The enemies of the house of Argyle now supposed that the estates of the family were again within their grasp ; but the king, at the intercession of Lauderdale, the rival of Middleton, pardoned Lorn, released him from prison after about a year's confinement, restored to him the family estates, and allowed him to retain the title of Earl.*

After the suppression of Glencairn's short-lived insurrection, the Highlands enjoyed repose till the year sixteen hundred and seventy-four, when a combustion took place which threatened to involve the greater part of that country in the horrors of feudal war. The occasion was this. The marquis of Argyle had purchased up some debts due by the laird of Maclean, for which his son, the earl, applied for payment ; but the laird being unwilling or unable to pay, the earl apprised his lands, and followed out other legal proceedings, to make the claim effectual against Maclean's estates. In the meantime the latter died, leaving a son under the guardianship of his brother, to whom, on Maclean's death, the earl renewed his application for payment. The tutor of

* Kirkton p. 143, 166.

Macleans stated his readiness to settle, either by appropriating as much of the rents of his ward's lands in Mull and Tirey as would be sufficient to pay the interest of the debt, or by selling or conveying to him in security as much of the property as would be sufficient to pay off the debt itself; but he required, before entering into this arrangement, that the earl should restrict his claim to what was justly due. The earl professed his readiness to comply with the tutor's offer; but the latter contrived to evade the matter for a considerable time, and at length showed a disposition to resist the earl's demand by force.

The earl, therefore, resolved to enforce compliance, and armed with a decree of the court of session, and supported by a body of two thousand of his tenants and vassals, he crossed into Mull, in which he landed at three different places without opposition, although the Macleans had seven or eight hundred men in the island. The Macleans had sent their cattle into Mull for safety, a considerable number of which were killed or houghed by Lord Neill, brother to the earl, at the head of a party of the Campbells. The islanders at once submitted, and the earl having obtained possession of the castle of Duart, and placed a garrison therein, left the island. Although the Macleans had promised to pay their rents to the earl, they refused when applied to the following year, a refusal which induced him to prepare for a second invasion of Mull. In September, sixteen hundred and seventy-five, he had collected a force of about fifteen hundred men, including a hundred of the king's troops from Glasgow, under the command of Captain Crichton, and a similar number of militia-men under Andrew M'Farlane the laird of M'Farlane, the use of which corps had been granted the earl on application to the Council. The Macleans, aware of their danger, had strengthened themselves by an alliance with Lord Macdonald and other chieftains, who sent a force of about a thousand men to their aid; but Argyle's forces never reached the island, his ships having been driven back damaged and dismantled by a dreadful hurricane, which lasted two days.*

This misfortune, and intelligence which the earl received from the commander of Duart castle, that the Macleans were in great force in the island, made him postpone his enterprise. With the exception of five hundred men, whom he retained for the protection of his coasts, and about three or four hundred to protect his lands against the incursions of the Macleans, he dismissed his forces, after giving them instructions to reassemble on the eighteenth of October, unless countermanded before that time. The earl then went to Edinburgh to crave additional aid from the government, but receiving no encouragement he posted to London, where he expected, with the assistance of his friend the duke of Lauderdale, to obtain assistance. Lord Macdonald and the other

* "A rumour went that there was a witch-wife named Muddock who had promised to the M'Lains, that, so long as she lived, the earle of Argyle should not enter Mull; and indeed, many of the people imputed the rise of that great storme under her paction with the devil, how true I cannot assert."—*Law's Memorials*, p. 83.

friends of the Macleans hearing of Argyle's departure, immediately followed him to London, and laid a state of the dispute before the king, who, in February, sixteen hundred and seventy-six, remitted the matter to three lords of the privy council of Scotland for judgment. The earl returned to Edinburgh in June following. A meeting of the parties took place before the lords to whom the matter had been referred, but they came to no decision, and the subsequent fate of Argyle put an end to these differences, although it appears that he was allowed to take possession of the island of Mull without resistance in the year sixteen hundred and eighty.*

Except upon one occasion, now to be noticed, the highlanders took no share in any of the public transactions in Scotland during the reigns of Charles the Second and his brother James. Isolated from the lowlands by a mountain barrier which prevented almost any intercourse between them and their southern neighbours, they happily kept free from the contagion of that religious fanaticism which spread over the lowlands of Scotland, in consequence of the unconstitutional attempts of the government to force episcopacy upon the people. Had the highlanders been imbued with the same spirit which actuated the Scottish whigs, the government might have found it a difficult task to have suppressed them; but they did not concern themselves with these theological disputes, and they did not hesitate when their chiefs, at the call of the government, required their services, to march to the lowlands to suppress the disturbances in the western counties. Accordingly, an army of about eight thousand men, known in Scottish history by the name of the "Highland Host," descended from the mountains under the command of their respective chiefs, and encamped at Stirling on the twenty-fourth of June, sixteen hundred and seventy-eight, whence they spread themselves over Clydesdale, Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, and overawed the whigs so effectually, that they did not attempt to oppose the government during the stay of these hardy mountaineers among them. According to Wodrow and Kirkton, the highlanders were guilty of great oppression and cruelty, but they kept their hands free from blood, as it has been correctly stated, that not one whig lost his life during the invasion of these highland crusaders.† After remaining about eight months in the lowlands the highlanders were sent home, the government having no farther occasion for their services, but before their departure they took care to carry along with them a large quantity of plunder they had collected during their stay.‡

* Note to Kirkton by Sharpe, p. 391. † Law's Memorials, p. 80, 1, 2, 3, 94, 159.

‡ "But when this goodly army retreated homeward, you would have thought by their baggage they had been at the sack of a besieged city; and, therefore, when they passed Stirling bridge every man drew his sword to show the world they had returned conquerors from their enemies land; but they might as well have shewn the pots, pans, girdles, shoes taken off country men's feet, and other bodily and household furniture with which they were burdened; and among all, none purclast so well as the two earles Airy and Strathmore, chiefly the last, who sent home the money, not in purses but in bags and great quantities."—Kirkton, 390—1.

After the departure of the highlanders, the covenanters again appeared upon the stage, and proceeded so far as even to murder some soldiers who had been quartered on some landlords who had refused to pay cess. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp, and the insurrection of the covenanters under a preacher named Hamilton, followed by the defeat of the celebrated Graham of Claverhouse at Drumclog on the first of June sixteen hundred and seventy-nine, alarmed the government; but the defeat of the rebels by the king's forces at Bothwell bridge on the twenty-second of June, quieted their apprehensions. Fresh measures of severity were adopted against the unfortunate whigs, who, driven to despair, again flew to arms, encouraged by the exhortations of the celebrated enthusiast, Richard Cameron, from whom the religious sect, known by the name of Cameronians, takes its name; and Donald Cargill another fanatic; but they were defeated in an action at Airs-moss in Kyle, in which Cameron, their ecclesiastical head, was killed.

To check the diffusion of anti-monarchical principles, which were spreading fast throughout the kingdom under the auspices of the disciples of Cameron, the government, on the meeting of the Scottish parliament on the twenty-eighth of July, sixteen hundred and eighty-one, devised a test, which was required to be taken by all persons possessed of any civil, military, or ecclesiastical office. The parties taking this test were made to declare their adhesion to the true protestant religion, as contained in the original confession of faith, ratified by parliament in the year fifteen hundred and sixty, to recognise the supremacy of the king over all persons civil and ecclesiastical, and to acknowledge that there "lay no obligation from the national covenant, or the solemn league and covenant, or any other manner of way whatsoever, to endeavour any alteration in the government in church or state, as it was then established by the laws of the kingdom."*

The terms of this test were far from satisfactory to some, even of the best friends of the government, as it was full of contradictions and absurdities, and it was not until the privy council issued an explanatory declaration that they could be prevailed upon to take it. The dukes of Hamilton and Monmouth, however, rather than take the test, resigned their offices. Among others, who had distinguished themselves in opposing the passing of the test, was the earl of Argyle, who supported an amendment proposed by Lord Belhaven, for setting aside a clause, excepting the duke of York, brother to the king, and the other princes of the blood from its operation. The conduct of Argyle gave great offence to the duke, who sat as commissioner in the parliament, and encouraged his enemies to set about accomplishing his ruin. The earl of Errol brought in a bill reviving some old claims upon his estates, and the king's advocate endeavoured to deprive him of his hereditary offices; but the duke of York interposed and prevented the adoption of these

* Scots Acts, 1681, c. vi.

intended measures. To gratify his enemies, however, and to show the displeasure of the court at his recent opposition, Argyle was deprived of his seat in the court of session ; but this did not sufficiently appease their resentment, and, anxious for an opportunity of gratifying their malice, they hoped that he would refuse to take the test. Accordingly, he was required to subscribe it : he hesitated, and craved time to deliberate. Aware of the plot which had been long hatching against him, and as he saw that if he refused he would be deprived of his important hereditary jurisdictions, he resolved to take the test with a declaratory explanation, which, it is understood, received the approbation of the duke of York, to whom the earl had submitted it. The earl then subscribed the test in presence of the council, and added the explanation above mentioned. It was as follows : “ I have considered the test, and am very desirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I am confident that the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths : Therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly, I take it so far as it is consistent with itself and the protestant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind myself, in my station, in a lawful way, from wishing, and endeavouring any alteration which I think to the advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and my loyalty. And this I understand as a part of my oath.” This declaration did not please the council, but as the duke appeared to be satisfied, the matter was passed over, and Argyle kept his seat at the council board.

Although the duke of York had been heard to declare, that no honest man could take the test, a declaration which fully justified the course Argyle had pursued ; yet the enemies of that nobleman wrought so far upon the mind of his royal highness, as to induce him to think that Argyle's declaration was a highly criminal act. The earl therefore was required to take the test a second time, without explanation, and having refused, he was committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and on the slight foundation of a declaration, which had been sanctioned by the next heir to the crown, was raised a hideous superstructure of high treason, leasing-making and perjury.

Argyle was brought to trial, on Monday the twelfth day of December, sixteen hundred and eighty one, before the high court of justiciary. The earl of Queensbury, the justice-general, and four other judges, sat upon the bench, and fifteen noblemen acted as jurors. The absurdity of the charges, and the iniquity of the attempt, to deprive a nobleman, who had even in the worst times shown an attachment to the royal family, of his fortune, his honours, and his life were ably exposed by the counsel for the earl ; but so lost was a majority of the judges to every sense of justice, that, regardless of the infamy which would for ever attach to them, they found the libel relevant ; and on the following day the assize or jury, of which the marquis of Montrose, cousin-german to Argyle, was chancellor, found him guilty. Intelligence of Argyle's

condemnation was immediately sent to the king, but the messenger was anticipated in his arrival, by an express from the earl himself to the king, who, although he gave orders that sentence should be passed against Argyle, sent positive injunctions to delay the execution till his pleasure should be known. Argyle, however, did not wish to trust to the royal clemency, and as he understood preparations were making for his execution, he made his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, disguised as a page carrying the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his daughter-in-law.* He went to London, where he lay some time in concealment, whence he went over to Holland. On the day of his escape, being the twenty-first of December, he was proclaimed a fugitive at the market cross of Edinburgh, and on the twenty-fourth, the court of justiciary passed sentence of death against him, ordered his arms to be reversed, and torn at the market cross of Edinburgh, and declared his titles and estates forfeited.

In exculpation of their infamous proceedings, the persecutors of Argyle pretended that their only object in resorting to such unjustifiable measures, was to force him to surrender his extensive hereditary jurisdictions, which, they considered, gave him too great authority in the highlands, and the exercise of which in his family, might obstruct the ends of justice; and that they had no designs either upon his life or fortune. But this is an excuse which cannot be admitted, for they had influence enough with the crown, to have deprived Argyle of these hereditary jurisdictions, without having recourse to measures so glaringly subversive of justice.

The only advantage taken by the king, of Argyle's forfeiture, was the retention of the heritable jurisdictions, which were parcelled out among the friends of the court, during pleasure. The Lord Lorn, the earl's son, had the forfeited estates restored to him, after provision had been made for satisfying the demands of his father's creditors.

During the latter years of Charles II. a number of persons from England and Scotland had taken refuge in Holland to escape state prosecutions, with which they were threatened. Among the Scottish exiles, besides Argyle, were Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards earl of Stair, the celebrated Fletcher of Salton, and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, all of whom, as martyrs of liberty, longed for an opportunity of vindicating its cause in the face of their country. The accession of James II. to the crown of his brother, seemed an event favourable to their plans, and at a meeting which some of the exiled leaders held at Rotterdam, they resolved to raise the standard of revolt in England and Scotland, and invited the duke of Monmouth, also an exile, and the earl of Argyle to join them.† Monmouth, who was then living in retire-

* "It is reported that the earl, in his agitation, dropt the lady's gown, when about to pass the sentinel at the castle gate; but she, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up her train from the mud, and in a pretended rage, threw it in Argyle's face, with many reproaches of "careless loun," &c. which so besmeared him, that his features were not recognised."—Note to Law's memorials, by Sharpe, p. 210.

† Hume's Narrative, p. 5—9.

ment at Brussels, spending his time in illicit amours, accepted the invitation, and having repaired to Rotterdam, offered either to attempt a descent on England, at the head of the English exiles, or to go to Scotland as a volunteer, under Argyle. * The latter, who had never ceased since his flight from keeping up a correspondence with his friends in Scotland, had already been making preparations, and by means of a large sum of money he had received from a rich widow of Amsterdam, had there purchased a ship and arms, and ammunition. He now also repaired to Rotterdam, where it was finally arranged that two expeditions should be fitted out, one for England, under Monmouth, and the other for Scotland, under the command of Argyle, who was appointed by the council at Rotterdam, captain general of the army, "with as full power as was usually given to generals by the free states in Europe.†

On the second of May, sixteen hundred and eighty-five, the expedition under Argyle, which consisted of three ships and about three hundred men, left the shores of Holland, and reached Cairston in the Orkneys on the sixth, after a pleasant voyage. The seizure, by the natives, of Spence, the earl's secretary, and of Blackadder, his surgeon, both of whom had incautiously ventured on shore, afforded the government the necessary information as to the strength and destination of the expedition. A proclamation had been issued on the twenty-eighth of April for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, hostages had been taken from the vassals of Argyle as sureties for their fidelity, and all persons whose loyalty was suspected were either imprisoned, or had to find security for their fidelity to the government; but as soon as the council at Edinburgh received the intelligence of Argyle's having reached the Orkneys, they despatched troops to the west, and ordered several frigates to cruise among the western isles. After taking four Orcadians as hostages for the lives of his secretary and surgeon, Argyle left the Orkneys on the seventh of May, and arrived at Tobermory in the isle of Mull on the eleventh, whence he sailed to the mainland and landed in Kintyre. Here he published a declaration which had been drawn up in Holland by Sir James Stuart, afterwards king's advocate, full of invective against the government, and attributing all the grievances under which the country had laboured in the preceding reign to a conspiracy between popery and tyranny, which had, he observed, been evidently disclosed by the cutting off of the late king and the ascension of the duke of York to the throne. It declared that the object of the invaders was to restore the true protestant religion, and that as the duke of York was, from his religion, as they supposed, incapable of giving security on that head, they declared that they would never enter into any treaty with him. The earl issued, a few days thereafter, a second declaration from Tarbet, reciting his own wrongs, and calling upon his former vassals to join his standard. Messengers were despatched in

• Hume's Nar. p. 15. Wellwood App. p. 323. † Hume's Nar. p. 9, 12—14, 15—18.

all directions bearing aloft the fiery cross, and in a short time about eight hundred of his clan, headed by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, rallied around their chief. Other reinforcements arrived, which increased his army to two thousand five hundred men; a force wholly insufficient to meet a body of about seven thousand militia and a considerable number of regular troops already assembled in the west to oppose his advance.

Although Argyle's obvious plan was at once to have dashed into the western lowlands where the spirit of disaffection was deeply prevalent, and where a great accession of force might have been expected, he, contrary to the advice of some of his officers, remained in Argyle a considerable time in expectation of hearing of Monmouth's landing, and spent the precious moments in chasing out of his territories a few stragglers who infested his borders. Amid the dissensions which naturally arose from this difference of opinion, the royalists were hemming Argyle in on all sides. Whilst the duke of Gordon was advancing upon his rear with the northern forces, and the earl of Dumbarton with the regular troops pressing him in front, the marquis of Athole and Lord Charles Murray at the head of fifteen hundred men, kept hanging on his right wing, and a fleet watched his ships to prevent his escape by sea. In this conjuncture Argyle yielded to the opinion of his officers, and leaving his stores in the castle of Allangreg in charge of a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, he began his march, on the tenth of June, to the lowlands, and gave orders that his vessels should follow close along the coast. The commander of the castle, on the approach of the king's ships under Sir Thomas Hamilton, abandoned it five days thereafter, without firing a single shot, and the warlike stores which it contained, consisting of five thousand stand of arms, and three hundred barrels of powder, besides a standard, bearing the inscription "against popery, prelacy, and Erastianism," fell a prey to the royalists. The vessels also belonging to Argyle were taken at the same time.*

On the sixteenth of June Argyle crossed the Leven near Dumbarton, but finding it impracticable, from the numerous forces opposed to him, and which met him at every point, to proceed on his intended route to Glasgow by the ordinary road, he betook himself to the hills in the expectation of eluding his foes during the darkness of the night; but this desperate expedient did not succeed, and next morning Argyle found his force diminished by desertion to five hundred men. Thus abandoned by the greater part of his men, he, in his turn, deserted those who remained with him, and endeavoured to secure his own safety; and disguising himself in a common dress he wandered for some time in the company of Major Fullarton in the vicinity of Dumbarton, and, in attempting to cross the Clyde at Inchinnan was taken prisoner by a few militia men. About a hundred of the volunteers from Holland

* Hume's Narrative, p. 46—56. Gazette, 2044.

crossed the Clyde in boats, but being attacked by the royalists were dispersed. Thus ended this ill concerted and unfortunate expedition.*

Argyle was carried to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where he underwent the same ignominious and brutal treatment which the brave Montrose had suffered on being brought to the capital after his capture, a spectacle which Argyle himself, thirty-five years before, had witnessed with approbation from a balcony in front of the earl of Moray's house in the Canongate. As the judgment which had been pronounced against Argyle, after his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was still in force, no trial was considered necessary. He was beheaded accordingly on the twenty-sixth of June, evincing in his last moments the courage of a Roman, and the fortitude of a martyr. His two sons, Lord Lorn and Lord Neill Campbell, were banished. Monmouth, who did not land in England till the eleventh of June, was equally unfortunate, and suffered the death of a traitor on Tower Hill on the fifteenth of July.

* Hume's Narrative, p 56-67. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 533-537. Gazette, 2045.

CHAPTER V.

Unconstitutional proceedings of the king—Discontents—Designs of the Prince of Orange—Remonstrances of James—Recriminations of the prince—Negotiations—Intrigues of William—Pregnancy of the queen—Calumnious reports—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Concessions of the king—He prepares for defence—Offers of service—Scottish army marches into England—Meeting of the malcontents in Edinburgh—Landing of the Prince of Orange—Tumult in Edinburgh—Meeting of the privy council—Departure of the young prince of Wales and the queen for France—Flight and arrest of the king—Riots in London—Return of the king to London—Negotiates with the city—Departure of the king for France—Conduct of the duke of Gordon—Meeting of Scottish peers and gentlemen in London—Convention of estates called—Castle of Edinburgh summoned—Duke of Gordon denounced—Proceedings of the convention—Departure of Dundee from Edinburgh.

THE ill-fated result of Argyle's expedition, and the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, enabled James to turn the whole of his attention to the accomplishment of an object more valuable, in his opinion, than the crown itself—the restoration of the Catholic religion. In furtherance of this design, the king adopted a series of the most unconstitutional and impolitic measures, which destroyed the popularity he had acquired on his accession, and finally ended in his expulsion from the throne. It is due to the king, however, to state, that in assuming the dispensing power, he merely followed the footsteps of his predecessors, and that his conduct, though illegal, was quite the reverse of intolerant, as he merely wished to see all civil disabilities removed on account of religious opinions, and all his subjects enjoy complete toleration, a principle which the legislature has lately recognised by the repeal of the test act, and the passing of the Catholic relief bill.

It was not, however, till the Scottish parliament, which met on the twenty-eighth of April, sixteen hundred and eighty six, and on the obsequiousness of which the king had placed great reliance, had refused to repeal the test, that he resolved upon those desperate measures which proved so fatal to him. This parliament was prorogued by order of the king on the fifteenth day of June, and in a few months thereafter, he addressed a succession of letters to the council,—and from which he had previously removed some individuals who were opposed to his plans,—in which he stated, that in requiring the parliament to repeal the penal statutes, he merely meant to give them an opportunity of evincing their loyalty, as he considered that he had sufficient power, by virtue

of his prerogative, to suspend or dispense with those laws; a most erroneous and dangerous doctrine certainly, but which could never be said to have been exploded till the era of the revolution. In these letters the king ordered the council to allow the Catholics to exercise their worship freely in private, to extend the protection of government to his Protestant as well as Catholic subjects, to receive the conformist clergy in general to livings in the church, and to admit certain individuals whom he named to offices in the state without requiring any of them to take the test.*

But these letters, though disapproved in part by the council, were merely preparatory to much more important steps. These were the issuing of two successive proclamations by the king on the twelfth of February and the fifth of July in the following year, granting full and free toleration to Presbyterians, Catholics, and Quakers, with liberty to exercise their worship in houses and chapels. He also suspended the severe penal statutes against the Catholics, which had been passed during the minority of his grandfather; but he declared his resolution to preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of the then established (episcopal) church of Scotland, and to protect the holders of church property in their possessions.

By the Presbyterians who had for so many years writhed under the lash of persecution, these proclamations were received with great satisfaction; and at a meeting which was held at Edinburgh of the Presbyterian ministers, who had assembled from all parts of the country, to consider the matter, a great majority not only accepted the boon with cheerfulness, but voted a loyal address to his majesty, thanking him for the indulgence he had granted them. Some there were, however, of the more rigorous kind, who denounced any communication with the king, whom they declared "an apostate, bigotted, excommunicated papist, under the malediction of the Mediator; yea, heir to the imprecation of his grandfather," and who found warm abettors in the clergy of the Episcopal church in Scotland, who displayed their anger even in their discourses from the pulpit.†

Although the Presbyterians reaped great advantages from the toleration which the king had granted, by being allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their worship, and by being, many of them, admitted into offices of the state, yet, as they perceived that a much greater proportion of Catholics was admitted to similar employments, they began to grow suspicious of the king's intentions, and instead of continuing their gratitude, they openly declared that they did not any longer consider themselves under any obligation to his majesty, as the toleration had been granted for the purpose of introducing Catholics into places of

* Fountainhall, 1177.

† Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 624, App. 187, 192, 194, 195. Fountainhall, State Trials, vol. x. p. 785, vol. xi. p. 1179. Balcarras's Account, p. 3.

trust, and of dividing Protestants among themselves. These apprehensions were encouraged by the Episcopal party, who, alarmed at the violent proceedings of the king against the English universities, and the bishops who had refused to read his proclamation for liberty of conscience in the churches, endeavoured to instil the same dread of popery and arbitrary power into the minds of their Presbyterian countrymen which they themselves entertained. By these and similar means, discontent spread rapidly among the people of Scotland, who considered their civil and religious liberties in imminent danger, and were, therefore, ready to join in any measure which might be proposed for their protection.

William, prince of Orange, who had married the princess Mary, the eldest daughter of James, next in succession to the crown, and who had long entertained the idea of mounting the throne of the Stuarts, watched the progress of this struggle between arbitrary power and popular rights with extreme anxiety. He had incurred the displeasure of his father-in-law, while duke of York, by joining the party whose object it was to exclude James from the throne, by the reception which he gave the duke of Monmouth in Holland, and by his connivance, apparent at least, at the attempts of the earl of Argyle and Monmouth. But, upon the defeat of the latter, William, by offering his congratulations on that event, reinstated himself in the good graces of his father-in-law. As James, however, could not reconcile the protection which the prince afforded to the numerous disaffected exiles from England and Scotland who had taken refuge in Holland, with the prince's professions of friendship, he demanded their removal; but this was refused, through the influence of the prince with the States, and though, upon a hint being given that a war might ensue in consequence of this refusal, they were removed from the Hague, yet they still continued to reside in other parts of Holland, and kept up a regular communication with the prince. Another demand made by the king to dismiss the officers of the British regiments serving in Holland, whose fidelity was suspected, met with the same evasive compliance; for although William displaced those officers, he refused commissions to all persons whom he suspected of attachment to the king or the catholic faith. The wise policy of this proceeding was exemplified in the subsequent conduct of the regiments which declared themselves in favour of the prince's pretensions.*

But if James had to complain of the conduct of his son-in-law, the latter was, in his turn, prepared with a list of grievances. Among other subjects of complaint, was the report of a design on the part of the king to exclude the princess Mary from the throne. This report was credited by William, on whom it made a deep impression. He demanded an explanation. The king, who was perfectly innocent, was indignant at the charge; but William was by no means satisfied, and

* D'Avaux.

to try the king's sincerity, he required the settlement of a yearly allowance on the princess, as presumptive heir to the crown. James, contrary to the advice of some of his catholic counsellors, refused to accede to this request, alleging as his reason, that as the money was not to be spent in the kingdom, it was not claimable.*

As James considered it of the utmost importance, for the success of his contemplated plan for a total abrogation of the penal laws, to obtain the consent and approbation of the prince of Orange, he sent over to Holland, Penn, the celebrated quaker, who was a favourite with the king, and on whose integrity James placed the most perfect reliance, to endeavour to induce the prince to accede to his plan of toleration; but the sterling honesty of Penn, and his able advocacy of the rights of conscience, were counteracted by the influence of a more dextrous and wily politician in the person of Burnet the historian. The king was not more successful in another attempt he made through the marquis of Abbeville, who, although he succeeded in getting Burnet removed from the court of the prince, could only procure from William a declaration, that though a friend to toleration, he was only such in a general sense, and was opposed to the repeal of the test act, which he considered the only security the church of England had under a catholic king.†

Early in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-seven, William perceived that matters were approaching to a crisis in England, but he did not think that the time had then arrived for putting his intended design of invading England into execution. To sound the dispositions of the people, he sent over in February, that year, Dyckvelt, an acute statesman, who kept up a secret communication with those who favoured the designs of his master. Dyckvelt soon returned to Holland, with letters from several of the nobility addressed to the prince, all couched in favourable terms, which encouraged him to send Zulestein, another agent, into England to assure his friends there that if James attempted, with the aid "of a packed parliament," to repeal the penal laws and the test act, he would oppose him with an armed force.‡

Although the king was aware of the prince's intrigues, he could never be persuaded that the latter had any intention to dispossess him of his crown, and he continued to pursue the desperate course he had resolved upon with a pertinacity and zeal which blinded him to the dangers which surrounded him. The preparations of the prince for a descent on England went on in the mean time with activity; but a temporary damp was cast on his hopes by reports of the pregnancy of the queen, an event which, if a son was the result, might prevent the accession of his wife, the princess Mary. To counteract the effect of this report upon the public mind, the enemies of the king circulated with uncommon industry a counter report that the intelligence was untrue, and that it was

* D'Avaux, Burnet, vol. iii. p. 125.

† D'Avaux, Lettre du 23. Janv.

‡ Dalrymple, p. 200—210.

merely preparatory to a design to force a supposititious child upon the nation, to the exclusion of the true protestant heir to the crown. But this malicious falsehood was refuted by the birth of a prince on the tenth of June, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, an event which has been indubitably attested by the most convincing proofs. The opponents of the king, however, though disappointed, were not depressed, and as they had made the nation believe that a supposititious prince was to be expected, they resorted to every expedient which ingenuity could invent to persuade their dupes that their predictions had been realized. Reports the most incredible were circulated, and although many of them were too inconsistent and absurd to be believed, they were greedily swallowed, and even credited by persons of the best intentions. These reports were carefully raked together by Burnet, who, to please his patron, published them, a circumstance highly discreditable to his memory.* Though the king felt keenly the indignity thus offered him, he disdained to give any public contradiction to the calumny which he probably supposed would be sufficiently answered by appointing a day for a general thanksgiving, throughout the kingdom.

It was not till the month of September, when James was on the utmost verge of the precipice, that he saw the danger of his situation. He now began, when too late, to attempt to repair the errors of his reign, by a variety of popular concessions, but although these were granted with apparent cheerfulness, and accepted with similar indications of thankfulness, it was evident that they were forced from the king by the necessity of his situation, and might be withdrawn when that necessity ceased to exist, an idea which the enemies of the king did not fail to propagate among the people.

Being now convinced that the prince of Orange contemplated an invasion of England, James began to make the necessary preparations for defence. In September, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, he sent down an express to Scotland to the members of the privy council, acquainting them of the prince's preparations, and requiring them to place that part of his dominions on the war establishment. The militia were accordingly embodied, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, &c. provisioned, and orders were sent to the chiefs of the Highland clans to be ready to assemble their men on a short notice. Many persons at first discredited the report of an invasion from Holland, and considered that it was a mere device of the king either to raise money or to collect an army for some sinister purpose; but their suspicions were allayed by intelligence being brought by some seamen from Holland of the warlike preparations which were making in the Dutch ports. The jealousies which were entertained of the king's intentions were dissipated by the dread of a foreign invasion, and addresses were sent in to the privy

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 236—245.

council from the different towns, and from the country gentlemen, with offers of service.*

Whilst the privy council were engaged in fulfilling the king's instructions, they received an order from his majesty to concentrate the regular army, and despatch it without delay into England. This force, which did not exceed three thousand men, was in a state of excellent discipline, and was so advantageously posted throughout the kingdom that any insurrection which might break out could be easily suppressed. As the prince of Orange had many adherents in Scotland, and as the spirit of disaffection to the existing government in the western counties, though subdued, had not been extinguished, the privy council considered that to send the army, under such circumstances, out of the kingdom, would be a most imprudent step, and they, therefore, sent an express to the king, representing the danger of such a movement, of which the disaffected would not fail to avail themselves, should an opportunity occur. They proposed that the army should remain as it was then stationed, and that in lieu thereof, a body of militia, and a detachment of Highlanders, amounting together to thirteen thousand men, should be despatched to the borders, or marched into the north of England, to watch the movements of the king's enemies in that quarter, and to suppress any risings which they might attempt in favour of the prince. But, although the council were unanimous in giving this advice, the king disregarded it altogether, reiterated the order he had formerly given, and intimated, that if any of them were afraid to remain in Scotland, they might accompany the army into England.

Accordingly, the Scottish army began its march early in October, in two divisions. The first, consisting of the foot, at the head of which was General Douglas, brother of the duke of Queensberry, who had the chief command of the army, took the road to Chester; and the second, consisting of the horse, under the direction of Graham of Claverhouse, as major-general, marched by York. These detachments, on their arrival at London, joined the English army under the command of the earl of Feversham, about the end of October.

To supply the absence of the regular troops, and to prevent the disaffected from making the capital the focus of insurrection, a large body of militia, under the command of Sir George Munro, was quartered in Edinburgh and the suburbs; but no sooner had the army passed the borders, than crowds from all parts of the kingdom congregated, as if by mutual consent, into the metropolis, where they held private meetings, which were attended by the earls of Glencairn, Crawford, Dundonald, and others. The objects of these meetings were made known to the council by spies, who were employed to attend them; and although they were clearly treasonable, the council had not the courage to arrest

* Balcarras, p. 9.

† Ibid, p. 16, 17.

a single individual. Among other things, the leaders of these meetings resolved to intercept all correspondence between the king and the council, a task which Sir James Montgomery undertook to see accomplished, and which he so effectually discharged that very few despatches reached their destination.*

For several weeks the privy council, owing to this interruption, was kept in a state of painful uncertainty as to the state of the king's affairs in England; but at last an express arrived from the earl of Melfort, announcing the important intelligence that the prince of Orange had landed in England with a considerable force, and that his majesty had gone to meet him at the head of his army. The earl, in his despatches, which were addressed to his brother, the duke of Perth, the chancellor, expressed himself in very sanguine terms as to the result of the ensuing contest; but Graham, who had been just created a peer by the king, under the title of Viscount Dundee, in a letter to his friends in the council, did not disguise his apprehensions as to the probable unfavourable issue of the conflict. These discordant opinions produced an irresolution in the minds of the members of council, who appear to have been quite at a loss how to act under this new posture of affairs. To ascertain the exact state of matters in England, they despatched, on the recommendation of the viscount of Tarbet, one Brand, a merchant, and one of the magistrates of the city, who, being in the practice of travelling into England on business, it was supposed would not be suspected as the bearer of any communication to the king; but Brand basely betrayed his trust by carrying his despatches to the camp of the prince of Orange, to whom he was introduced by Dr Burnet.†

The landing of the prince, which was effected without opposition on the fifth of November sixteen hundred and eighty eight, at Torbay in Devonshire, excited the greatest alarm in the mind of the king, who had entertained hopes that a well appointed fleet of thirty-seven men-of-war, and seventeen fire-ships which had been stationed off the Gun-fleet under the earl of Dartmouth, an old and experienced commander, would have intercepted the prince in his voyage; but unfortunately for the king, the cruisers which the admiral had sent out to watch the approach of the enemy had been driven back by the violence of the wind, and when the fleet of the prince passed the Downs towards its destined place of disembarkation, the royal fleet was riding at anchor abreast of the Long-sand, several miles to leeward, with the yards and topmasts struck, and as twenty-four hours elapsed before it could be got ready to commence the pursuit, the commander, on the representation of his officers, desisted from the attempt.

As soon as the king had recovered from the panic into which the news of the prince's arrival had thrown him, he ordered twenty batta-

* Balcarras, p. 19.

† Ibid, p. 19, 20.

lions of infantry and thirty squadrons of cavalry to march towards Salisbury and Marlborough, leaving six squadrons and six battalions behind to preserve tranquillity in the capital.* The prince, who had been led to expect that he would be received with open arms by all classes on his arrival, met at first with a very cold reception, and he felt so disappointed that he even threatened to re-embark his army. Had James therefore adopted the advice given him by the king of France, to push forward his troops immediately in person and attack the invader before the spirit of disaffection should spread, he might, perhaps, by one stroke, have for ever annihilated the hopes of his son-in-law and preserved his crown, but James thought and acted differently, and he soon had cause to repent bitterly of the course he pursued. Owing to the open defection of some of his officers and the secret machinations of others, the king soon found, that with the exception perhaps of the Scottish regiments, he could no longer rely upon the fidelity of his army. On the twentieth of November he arrived at Salisbury, and reviewed a division of the army stationed there; and intended to inspect the following day, another division which lay at Warminster; but being informed that General Kirk, its commander, the Lord Churchill and others had entered into a conspiracy to seize him and carry him a prisoner to the enemy's camp, he summoned a council of war, at which these officers were present, and without making them aware that he was in the knowledge of such a plot, proposed a retreat beyond the Thames. This proposition met with a keen opposition from Churchill, but was supported by the earl of Feversham, his brother the Count de Roze, and the earl of Dumbarton, who commanded one of the Scottish foot regiments. The proposal having been adopted, Churchill and some other officers went over to the prince during the night. †

The army accordingly retired behind the Thames, and the king, without leaving any particular instructions to his officers, proceeded to London, to attend a council of peers which he had summoned to meet him at Whitehall. The departure of the king was a subject of deep regret to his real friends in the army, and particularly to the earl of Dumbarton, and Lord Dundee, who had offered to engage the enemy with the Scots troops alone, but this offer his majesty thought proper to decline, and in a conference which Dundee and the earl of Balcarras afterwards had with him in London, when he had made up his mind to retire to France, he gave them to understand that he meant to intrust the latter with the administration of his civil affairs in Scotland, and to appoint the former the generalissimo of his forces.

In the Scottish privy council there were several persons who were inimical to the king, and who only watched an opportunity, when they should no longer consider themselves in danger, of offering their alle-

* Barillon.

† James' Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 222. &c. Barillon. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 316.

giance and services to the prince of Orange. These were the marquis of Athole, the Viscount Tarbet, and Sir John Dalrymple, the lord-president of the court of session. The two latter, in conjunction with Balcarras, had been appointed by the council to proceed to England, to obtain personally from the king the necessary instructions how to act on the landing of the prince in consequence of the stoppage of the despatches on the road; but they declined the journey on some frivolous pretexts, and Balcarras, a nobleman of undoubted loyalty, was obliged to go alone, and had the meeting with his majesty to which allusion has been made. These counsellors were duly apprised of the advance of the prince, the defection of some of the king's officers, and of his return to London; but as the result of the struggle seemed still to be dubious, they abstained from openly declaring themselves, but in order to get rid of the chancellor, the earl of Perth, and get the government into their own hands, as preliminary to their designs, Viscount Tarbet proposed that, with the exception of four companies of foot and two troops of horse to collect the revenue, the remainder of the troops should be disbanded, as he considered it quite unnecessary to keep up such a force in time of peace, as the prince of Orange had stated in a declaration which he had issued, that that was one of the grievances complained of by the nation. The chancellor, not foreseeing the consequences, assented to the proposal, and he had the mortification, after the order for dismissal had been given, to receive an intimation from the marquis of Athole and his party who waited personally upon him at his lodgings, that as they considered it dangerous to act with him and other Catholic counsellors who were incapacitated by law, they meant to take the government into their own hands in behalf of the king, and they demanded that he and his party should retire from the administration of affairs. The duke of Gordon and the other Catholic members of the council, on hearing of this proceeding, assembled in the chancellor's house to consult with him as to the nature of the answer which should be given to this extraordinary demand. As they saw resistance hopeless, particularly as from appearances the populace meant to join in enforcing the order, they advised the chancellor to submit, and, probably to avoid personal danger, he retired immediately to the country. A tumultuous mob, which had been drawn together by some evil disposed persons after the departure of the chancellor, proceeded to the palace of Holy-rood, to pull down the chapel royal; but they were repulsed with some loss by Captain Wallace, who had charge of the palace. A report having been instantly spread that Wallace was butchering the people, the whole of the inhabitants flew to arms, and a warrant having been granted to the magistrates of the city by the marquis of Athole, the earl of Breadalbane, Viscount Tarbet, and Sir John Dalrymple, to obtain possession of the palace from Wallace, they proceeded in their robes preceded by the town guard, a number of "discontented gentlemen," among whom was Lord Mersington, "the fanatic judge," as

Lord Balcarras calls him, "with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as ale or brandy could make him." A mob of between two and three thousand persons formed the rear; but although Wallace was summoned to surrender by trumpeters and heralds, he refused to obey unless they produced a warrant from the king and council. This refusal was immediately followed by an exchange of shots, which so terrified the magistrates and their friends, that they immediately sought for safety in the lanes and stairs of the adjoining houses. The contest was of short duration, for Wallace having imprudently advanced into the outer court of the palace, he was attacked in his rear by the town guard. He thereupon fled, leaving his men to defend themselves as they best could; but when they found that Wallace had abandoned them, they threw away their arms and cried out for quarter. Some, however, were killed by the infuriated mob, and the remainder were taken prisoners, of whom several afterwards died of their wounds, others from starvation. The populace thereafter entered the chapel and palace, which they completely gutted, and broke into the earl of Perth's cellars, which they emptied of their contents. In a state of beastly intoxication the rabble continued for two or three days, rambling through the city in quest of and plundering the houses of the few Catholic inhabitants, and committed the most atrocious acts upon the persons of some Catholic ladies, without any attempt being made by the public authorities to restrain such brutalities.*

After these violences had in some degree subsided, the marquis of Athole called a meeting of the council, and proposed an address of congratulation to the prince of Orange, strongly expressive of gratitude to him for his generous undertaking to relieve them from popery and arbitrary power, and offering a tender of their services; but this address was warmly opposed by the two archbishops, Sir John Dalrymple, Sir George Mackenzie and others, and was finally negatived. They even opposed the voting of any address under existing circumstances, but the marquis and his party succeeded in carrying a short address, drawn up in general terms. Lord Glammis was sent up with it, but it was so different from what the Prince expected, that it met with a very cold reception.

The fate of the unfortunate monarch had by this time been decided. Before his return to London a great defection had taken place among the officers of his army, and he had at last the mortification to see himself deserted by his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and by his daughter the Princess Anne, the wife of the Prince, who, with a perfidy, which fortunately has had few parallels in the annals of filial depravity, had pledged her word to the prince of Orange for the desertion of her husband six days before the return of her father to the capital. "God help me! my very children have forsaken me," such was the exclamation.

* Balcarras, p. 22—27.

tion uttered by the unhappy monarch, his countenance suffused with tears, when he received the afflicting intelligence of the flight of Anne from Whitehall. When the king saw he could no longer resist the torrent of popular indignation, and that an imperious necessity required that he should leave the kingdom, his first solicitude was to provide for the safety of the queen and his son. The young prince was sent to Portsmouth, under the charge of Lord and Lady Powis, where they arrived on the first of December. A yacht was in readiness to receive them on board. Instructions had been privately sent to Lord Dartmouth, whose fleet lay at Spithead, to aid the escape of the prince; but the admiral being influenced by some of the disaffected officers, excused himself from fulfilling the orders he had received. To prevent the danger of seizure, the king ordered three regiments to escort the prince back to the capital, where arrangements were made by Caryll, the queen's secretary, to effect his escape down the river.* The queen, who had hitherto refused to leave the king, consented, on receiving an assurance from him that he would follow her within twenty-four hours, to accompany the prince, and, accordingly at two o'clock in the morning of the tenth of December, she left Whitehall, disguised as an Italian lady, attended by a female Italian servant, and the nurse carrying the young prince in her arms. The whole party, although the night was dark and stormy, crossed the river, and landed on the opposite side at Lambeth. Here they expected to find a carriage in waiting to take them up, but unfortunately it had not arrived. The rain fell in torrents, and the party was obliged to shelter themselves under a high wall, exposed every moment to the risk of detection; but they were soon relieved from their perilous situation, carried to Gravesend, and put on board a yacht, in which were Lord and Lady Powis, and three Irish officers, who saw them safely landed at Calais. The king was soon relieved of the extreme anxiety he felt respecting them, by the arrival of St Victor, a French gentleman, who witnessed the departure of the yacht.†

The resolution of the king to quit the kingdom was hastened after a fruitless attempt at negotiation with the prince of Orange, by the appearance of an infamous proclamation, issued under the signature of the prince, which, though afterwards disowned by him, was believed to be genuine at the time. In this paper, all catholics who attempted to exercise any office in virtue of the royal authority, or who bore arms, or had arms in their houses, were denounced as banditti, robbers, and freebooters, to whom no quarter should be given, and all magistrates were called upon to disarm them, under the penalty of being answerable for all the protestant blood which might be spilt, and the property of the protestants which might be destroyed, if the catholics were allowed, through their negligence, to carry the dreadful designs imputed to them in the pro-

* Dalrymple 326—330. *Memoirs of James*, vol. ii., p. 233—237.—Barillon.

† *James (Memoirs)* vol. ii., p. 246.—Barillon.

clamation into effect.* Having, therefore, made up his mind to follow the queen without delay, the king wrote a letter to the earl of Feversham, the commander of the forces, intimating his intention, and after thanking him and the army for their loyalty, he informed them that he did not wish them any longer to run the risk of resisting "a foreign army and a poisoned nation." This letter he delivered, on the evening of the day of the queen's departure, to the Count de Roze, to be sent by him to his brother, the earl, after which he retired to rest. He rose shortly after midnight, and having disguised himself as a country gentleman, he left the palace, and descending by the back stairs, entered into a hackney coach, along with Sir Edward Hales, which conveyed them to the Horse-ferry, whence they crossed the river, into which the king threw the great seal. From Vauxhall they proceeded towards the appointed place of embarkation, and arrived at Emley ferry near Feversham by ten o'clock. They embarked on board the custom-house hoy, but before she could be got ready for sea the king was apprehended, and placed under a strong guard.

An extraordinary sensation was created in London as soon as the king's flight was known. The fury of the populace against the catholics, which had been excited to the highest pitch by the proclamation alluded to, now displayed itself in the demolition of the catholic chapels, and in the plundering of the houses of the defenceless catholics. The most absurd rumours, scarcely exceeded by the extravagancies of Oates' plot, were circulated by the disturbers of the public peace, and greedily swallowed by the unthinking multitude.

When the king's arrest was first reported in London, the intelligence was not believed; but all uncertainty on the subject was removed by a communication from James himself in the shape of a letter, but without any address, which was put into the hands of Lord Mulgrave by a stranger at the door of the council chamber at Whitehall. A body of about thirty peers and bishops had, on the flight of the king, formed themselves into a council, and had assumed the reins of government, and many of these, on this letter being read, were desirous of taking no notice of it, lest they might, by so doing, displease the prince. Lord Halifax, the chairman, who favoured the prince's designs, attempted to quash the matter, by adjourning the meeting, but Mulgrave prevailed on the members of the council to remain, and obtained an order to despatch the earl of Feversham with two hundred of the life-guards to protect the person of the king.

On the arrival of Feversham the king resolved to remain in the kingdom, and to return to London, a resolution which he adopted at the urgent entreaty of Lord Winchelsea, whom, on his apprehension, he had appointed lord-lieutenant of Kent. James was not without hopes that the prince would still come to terms, and to ascertain his sentiments

* Echard, p. 1127.

he sent Feversham to Windsor to invite the prince to a personal conference in the capital, and to inform him that St James's palace would be ready for his reception. The arrival of the earl with such a proposal was exceedingly annoying to William and his adherents, the former of whom, on the supposition that the king had taken a final adieu of the kingdom, had begun to act the part of the sovereign, while the latter were already intriguing for the great offices of the state. Instead of returning an answer to the king's message, William, on the pretence that Feversham had disbanded the army without orders, and had come to Windsor without a passport, ordered him to be arrested, and committed a prisoner to the round tower, an order which was promptly obeyed.

At Rochester, whence he had despatched Feversham, the king was met by his guards, and thence proceeded to London, which he entered on the sixteenth of December amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and the ringing of bells, and other popular manifestations of joy, a remarkable proof of the instability and inconstancy of feeling which actuate masses of people in popular excitements. Whatever were the ideas of the king on this occasion as to his future prospects, the receipt of a letter, almost upon his arrival in the capital, from William, of which Zuleistein was the bearer, convinced him that he had now to do with a man who not merely aspired to his crown, but who already considered himself invested with sovereign authority. In this letter, William desired his uncle not to advance nearer London than Rochester. The letter of course was too late, and James having again expressed his wish to Zuleistein for an interview with his son-in-law, the latter observed that his master must decline it as he could not venture his person among the royal troops. "Then," rejoined James, "let him come with his own guards to St James's, and I will dismiss mine; for I am as well without any, as with those whom I dare not trust." But, in truth, William had no intention whatever of ever meeting his uncle.*

As James conceived that the only chance he now had of securing the confidence of his subjects and preserving his crown, consisted in giving some signal proof of his sincerity to act constitutionally, he, on the morning following his interview with Zuleistein, made the humiliating offer to Lewis and Stamps, two of the city aldermen, to deliver himself up into their hands on receiving an assurance that the civil authorities would guarantee his personal safety, and to remain in custody till parliament should pass such measures as might be considered necessary for securing the religion and liberties of the nation. But Sir Robert Clayton dissuaded the common council from entering into any engagement which the city might possibly be unable to fulfil, and thus a negotiation was dropt, which, if successful, might have placed William in a situation of great embarrassment.†

* James, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 261—263.

† James (*Memoirs*) vol. ii., p. 271.—Great Britain's just complaint, p. 8.

But although James did not succeed in his offer to the city, his return to Whitehall had changed the aspect of affairs, and had placed William in a dilemma from which he could only extricate himself by withdrawing altogether his pretensions to the crown, or by driving his uncle out of it by force ; but as he had already gone too far to adopt the first alternative, he consulted his friends, not collectively as heretofore, but individually and privately, as to the measures that should be adopted to get rid of the king. To secure the person of the king, and confine him a prisoner for life, seemed to be the most prevalent opinion among the prince's advisers ; but William thought otherwise, and considered that the most safe and prudent course he could pursue would be to force James to leave the kingdom ; but in such a manner as to induce the belief that he did so freely and of his own accord. Accordingly, to excite the king's alarms, a body of Dutch guards, by order of the prince, marched into Westminster, and, after taking possession of the palace of St James's, marched with their matches lighted to Whitehall, of which they also demanded possession. As resistance, owing to the great disparity of numbers, was considered by the king to be unavailing, he, contrary to the opinion of Lord Craven, the commander of his guards, who, though eighty years of age, offered to oppose the invaders, ordered the guards to resign their posts, of which the Dutch took possession. This event took place late in the evening of the sixteenth of December.*

The king, who was now in effect a prisoner within his own palace, overpowered with anxiety, retired to his pillow for repose, and soon fell asleep ; but he had not slept long when he was awakened by the earl of Middleton, who lay in the adjoining antechamber, and who had been roused from his slumbers by a loud knocking at the outer door, by some persons who demanded instant admission. These were the Lords Shrewsbury, Delamere, and Halifax, who had been sent by the prince from Sion-house with a message to the king. James received these commissioners in bed. Halifax produced the instructions he and his colleagues were intrusted with, which were to this effect, that the king should quit Whitehall by ten o'clock next morning, as the prince meant to enter London about noon, and that he should retire to Ham, a house in Surrey belonging to the dowager duchess of Lauderdale, which had been provided for his reception. The king objected to Ham as a residence being uncomfortable, but stated his willingness to return to Rochester. Permission being granted by the prince, James left Whitehall about twelve o'clock noon, after taking an affectionate adieu of his friends, many of whom burst into tears. He embarked on board the royal barge, attended by Viscount Dundee and other noblemen, and descended the river, surrounded by several boats filled with Dutch

* Buckingham, vol. ii., p. 23. James, vol. ii., p. 264. Barillon.

guards, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, many of whom witnessed with sorrow the humiliating spectacle.*

The king arrived at Rochester the following day from Gravesend, where he had passed the previous night. He remained four days at Rochester, where he received accounts from his adherents, many of whom openly and freely visited him, of the prince's proceedings in the metropolis, all of which evidently showed the prince's intentions to assume the crown. For some time James, in consequence of the conflicting opinions of his trusty friends, was irresolute whether to remain in England or to depart for France; but a proposal which he made to the bench of bishops, similar to that he had offered to the city of London, having been slighted, he no longer hesitated as to the course he should pursue. Having resolved to withdraw immediately from the kingdom, he drew up, the evening before his intended departure, a declaration of the motives which actuated him to leave the kingdom. He stated that he had adopted this resolution from a feeling of self-preservation, as he did not consider that his life would be safe in the hands of a man who had, without provocation, invaded his dominions, treated him as a prisoner, ordered him to quit his palace and his capital, and endeavoured to blacken his character by propagating the falsehood that he meant to palm a supposititious prince upon the nation. He declared, that as he was born free, he wished to remain so; and that as he was not yet too old to hazard, as he had often done before, his life for his country, he was ready to do so again, whenever the people, freed from the delusions under which they laboured, should call on him to come forward. †

Having delivered this declaration to Lord Middleton, with instructions to publish it, and to whom, and other friends, he communicated his intention of departing early next morning, the king retired to rest; but he remained only a short time in bed, and, accompanied by two captains in the navy, his natural son the duke of Berwick, and a domestic, went on board the *Eagle* fire-ship, being unable to reach, on account of the unfavourable state of the weather, a fishing smack which had been hired for his reception. On the following morning he went on board the smack, and after a boisterous voyage of two days, arrived at Ambleuse, in France, on the twenty-fifth of December, and joined his wife and child, at the castle of Germain's, on the twenty-eighth. Thus ended the reign of a prince, who, whatever were his defects, was certainly, to use the words of an elegant historian, "more unfortunate than criminal." ‡

Considering the crisis to which matters had arrived, the course which the king pursued of withdrawing from the kingdom was evidently the most prudent which could be adopted. All his trusty adherents in

* James, vol. ii., p. 265—267.

† James (Memoirs), vol. ii. p. 273. Echard, p. 1134.

‡ Hume.

England were without power or influence, and in Scotland the duke of Gordon was the only nobleman who openly stood out for the interests of his sovereign. He had been created a duke by Charles II. James had appointed him governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and he had been thereafter made a privy-counsellor and one of the lords of the treasury. Though a firm and conscientious catholic, he was always opposed to the violent measures of the court, as he was afraid that however well meant, they would turn out ruinous to the king; not indeed that he did not wish to see the professors of the same faith with himself enjoy the same civil privileges as were enjoyed by his protestant countrymen, but because he was opposed to the exercise of the dispensing power at a time when the least favour shown to the professors of the proscribed faith was denounced as an attempt to introduce popery. The king, influenced by some of his flatterers, received the duke coldly on his appearance at court in March, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, and curtailed some of his rights and privileges over the lands of some of his vassals in Badenoch. Even his fidelity appeared to be questioned, by various acts of interference with the affairs of the castle, of which he disapproved. He resented these indignities by tendering his resignation of the various appointments he held from the crown, and demanded permission from the king to retire beyond seas for a time; but James put a negative upon both proposals, and the duke returned to his post at Edinburgh.*

Notwithstanding the bad treatment he had received, the duke, true to his trust, determined to preserve the castle of Edinburgh for the king, although the prince of Orange should obtain possession of every other fortress in the kingdom. He requested the privy council to lay in a quantity of provisions and ammunition, but this demand was but partially attended to, for though the garrison consisted only of a hundred and twenty men, there was not a sufficiency of materials for a three months' siege. After the tumult which took place in the city, the duke shut himself up in the castle, and invited the earl of Perth, the chancellor, to join him; but the earl declined the offer, and, in attempting to make his escape to the continent, was seized near the Bass, in the Frith of Forth, by some seamen from Kirkcaldy, under a warrant from the magistrates of that burgh, and committed to Stirling castle, where he remained a close prisoner for nearly four years.† A few days after the duke had retired to the castle, an attempt was made by some of the prince's adherents to corrupt the fidelity of the garrison, by circulating a false report that the duke meant to make the whole garrison, who were chiefly protestants, swear to maintain the catholic religion. A mutiny was on the eve of breaking out, but it was detected by the vigilance of some officers. The duke, thereupon, drew out the garrison, assured them that the report in question was wholly unfounded, and informed

* Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon vol. ii. p. 585-6.

† Balcarras, p. 29.

them that all he required of them was to take the oath of allegiance to the king, which being immediately tendered, was taken by the greater part of the garrison. Those who refused were at once dismissed. To supply the deficiency thus made, the duke sent notice to Francis Garden of Midstrath to bring up from the north forty-five of the best and most resolute men he could find on his lands; but, on their arrival at Leith, a hue and cry was raised that the duke was bringing down papists and Highlanders to overawe the protestants. To calm the minds of the people, the duke ordered these men to return home.*

As soon as the news of the arrival of the prince of Orange in London, and the departure of the king, was received in Edinburgh, an immense concourse of persons, "of all sorts, degrees, and persuasions," who "could (says Balcanquhall) scrape so much together" to defray their expenses, went up to London, influenced by motives of interest or patriotism. The prince of Orange, who had fallen upon the wise expedient of obtaining all the legal sanction which, before the assembling of a parliament, could be given to his assumption of the administration of public affairs in England, by the concurrence of a considerable body of the spiritual and temporal peers, and of a meeting composed of some members who had sat in the house of commons during the reign of Charles II., and of the lord-mayor of London, and fifty of the common council; he adopted the same expedient as to Scotland, and taking advantage of the great influx into the capital of noblemen and gentlemen from that country, he convened them together. A meeting was accordingly held at Whitehall, at which thirty noblemen and eighty gentlemen attended. The duke of Hamilton, whose loyalty was regulated by the standard of interest, and who aimed at the chief direction of affairs in Scotland, was chosen president. At this meeting a motion was made by the duke that a convention of the estates should be called as early as possible, and that an address should be presented to the prince to take upon him the direction of affairs in Scotland in the meantime; but this motion was unexpectedly opposed by the earl of Arran, the duke's eldest son, who proposed that the king should be invited back on condition that he should call a free parliament for securing the civil and religious liberties of Scotland. This proposition threw the assembly into confusion, and a short adjournment took place, but on resuming their seats, the earl's motion was warmly opposed by Sir Patrick Hume, and as none of the members offered to second it, the motion was consequently lost, and the duke's being put to the vote, was carried. For a justification of the conduct of the king's friends, in withholding their support from Arran's motion, reference may be had to the memoirs of Balcanquhall.†

A convention of the estates, called by circular letters from the prince, was accordingly appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of March, sixteen hundred and eighty-nine, and the supporters of the

* Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 587—8. † Balcanquhall, p. 25.

prince, as well as the adherents of the king, prepared to depart home to attend the ensuing election. But they were artfully detained by the prince till he should be declared king, that as many as might feel inclined might seal their new-born loyalty by kissing his hand; but the prince had to experience the mortification of a refusal even from some of those whom he had ranked amongst his warmest friends. The earl of Balcarras and Viscount Dundee, the former of whom had, as before mentioned, been invested by the king with the civil, the latter with the military administration of affairs in Scotland, were the first of either party who arrived in Scotland, but not until the end of February, when the elections were about to commence. On their arrival at Edinburgh they found the duke of Gordon, who had hitherto refused to deliver up the castle, though tempted by the most alluring offers from the prince, about to capitulate, but they dissuaded him from this step, on the ground that the king's cause was not hopeless, and that the retention of such an important fortress was of the utmost importance.

The elections commenced. The inhabitants of the southern and western counties (for every protestant, without distinction, was allowed to vote), alarmed for the extinction of their religious liberties, and excited by the recollection of the wrongs they and their forefathers had suffered, gave their suffrages to the popular candidate, and the adherents of the king soon perceived that the chances were against him. Yet, when the convention met, a respectable minority seemed, notwithstanding, to be in favour of the king, but who had neither the courage nor address to oppose the popular current. To overawe, as is supposed, the adherents of the king, or to prevent the convention from being overawed by the troops in the castle, the duke of Hamilton and his friends, a few days before the meeting of the convention, introduced a considerable number of armed men into Edinburgh, some of whom were concealed in cellars and houses, ready to act as occasion might require. The first trial of strength between the two parties took place on the election of a president. To the duke of Hamilton the adherents of the king opposed the marquis of Athole, who, in consequence of being slighted by the prince, had promised his support to the royal party; but the duke was elected by a considerable majority. This vote sealed the fate of the Tory party, and many who had hitherto wavered in their allegiance now openly abandoned the cause of their sovereign. A committee was appointed to report upon disputed elections, but being composed of the Whig party, many of the Tory returns, contrary to every principle of law, were declared null. The consequence was, that within a few days, the number of the adherents of the king was greatly reduced.

The first act of the convention was to send the earls of Tweeddale and Leven, with an order to the duke of Gordon to deliver up the castle within twenty-four hours. The duke, overcome by the smooth and insinuating behaviour of Tweeddale, reluctantly yielded, and promised

to surrender the castle next morning at ten o'clock. When this answer was brought to the convention, Balcarras and Dundee were alarmed, and immediately despatched a confidential servant to the duke reminding him of his promise to hold out, and imploring him not to give way. The duke wavered, but on obtaining a writing which he required under the hands of these noblemen that the retention of the castle was absolutely necessary for the success of the king's affairs, and being visited by Lord Dundee the following morning, who impressed on him the importance of holding out, he resolved to break with the convention; and to prepare matters in the north he despatched thither the earl of Dunfermline, his brother-in-law, to whom he granted a written commission, authorising him to raise his friends and vassals in support of the king.*

In consequence of the refusal of the duke to deliver up the castle, he was, by order of the convention, summoned by the heralds at the gate of the castle to surrender, and a proclamation was read at the same time prohibiting all persons from having any communication with him, and promising a reward of six months' pay to the protestants in the garrison who should seize him and deliver him and the castle up to the convention. The duke addressed the heralds from within the gate, and told them, that he kept the castle by commission from their common master, and would defend it to the last extremity; and after handing them some guineas, which he requested they would spend in drinking the king's health, and the healths of all his loyal subjects, he facetiously advised them not to proclaim men traitors with the king's coats on their backs till they had turned them. Upon the departure of the heralds, the duke drew out the garrison and gave them their option, either to remain in the castle and share with him the dangers that awaited them, or to depart. Upwards of a third of the garrison took advantage of the permission to depart, and left the castle on that and the following day.†

Whilst matters were in this state, a messenger arrived with a letter from William to the convention, and almost at the same time one Crane, an Englishman, also arrived, who was the bearer of a letter to the same body from the exiled monarch. A warm debate took place on the letters being produced as to the order in which they should be read, but on a vote being taken, it was decided that the prince's communication, which contained a proposal for the union of England and Scotland, should be first read. Before reading or even opening James's letter, however, the convention passed the following resolution:—"Forasmuch as there is a letter from King James the Seventh presented to the meeting of the estates; that they, before opening thereof, declare and enact,

* Balcarras, p. 41—2. Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon, p. 592.

† Ibid. p. 593-4.

that, notwithstanding any thing that may be contained in that letter for dissolving them, or impeding their procedure, yet that they are a free and lawful meeting of the estates, and will continue undissolved until they settle and secure the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdoms." In this letter, James implored the convention, as faithful subjects, to support his interests, and he informed them, that should any attempt be made by foreigners to interfere with them, he would afford them assistance. To all who should return to their duty before the last day of the month, he offered pardon; but he declared his resolution to punish those who should resist his authority. No answer was returned to this letter, and the bearer of it was doomed to suffer a short imprisonment.

As the king's friends saw that any efforts they could make in the convention after the reception his letter had met with, would be quite unavailing, they agreed at a private meeting which they held on the seventeenth of March, to repair to Stirling and there hold a convention by themselves. This resolution was adopted agreeably to the wish of the king himself, who, in anticipation of what would happen in the convention called by the prince, had sent a written authority, dated from Ireland, empowering the archbishop of St Andrews, the earl of Balcarras, and Viscount Dundee, to call a meeting of the estates at Stirling. Balcarras and Dundee received an assurance from the marquis of Athole, who, ever since the cold reception he had met with from William, had been wonderfully loyal, that he would accompany them, and a similar promise was obtained from the earl of Mar, governor of Stirling castle. Athole, however, began to waver, a circumstance which deferred the departure of the king's friends.

Here it may not be improper to notice a circumstance which probably had its weight in the deliberations preceding the departure of Dundee. On the morning of sixteenth March, just as Lord Dundee was on the point of going to the convention, he was waited upon by James Binnie, a dyer, who informed him that he had overheard a conversation the day before among some persons of their intention of murdering him and Sir George Mackenzie, and Binnie offered, if a warrant were granted him, to apprehend them. Dundee immediately went to the convention and applied for protection, but they refused to act in the matter, and passed to the order of the day. Whether this affair was the device of the Whig party, as has been supposed, to get quit of two individuals particularly obnoxious to them, there are no means of ascertaining; but when the circumstances of the times, and the opinions then held by many of the people are considered, the design of assassinating them is far from improbable.*

But be this as it may, Dundee resolved to remain as short as possible

* Balcarras, p. 24.—Minutes of Convention, 16th March.

in a place where he might be every moment exposed to the dagger of the assassin; and, accordingly, he and his friends fixed on Monday the eighteenth of March for their departure for Stirling. With the exception of Dundee, they all assembled at the appointed place of rendezvous in the city at the hour which had been fixed; but as the marquis of Athole, who had promised to accompany them and to protect them on their arrival at Stirling with a body of his vassals, wished them to postpone their departure till the following day; they consented to remain, and were in the act of dispersing and proceeding to the convention when Dundee made his appearance. Such an unexpected resolution greatly surprised him, but he told Balcarras, that whatever were the views of his friends, he would not remain another day in Edinburgh. Balcarras remonstrated with him, and represented, that his departure would give the alarm to their enemies, who would not fail to take advantage of the discovery; but he replied, that as he had a select body of between forty and fifty troopers ready mounted and prepared to start, he would not remain any longer within the city, but would clear the walls with his party and wait without for such friends as might choose to join him. Dundee accordingly left the city at the head of his troopers to go, as he is said to have emphatically replied to a friend who put the interrogatory to him, wherever the spirit of Montrose should direct. After passing the Nether-bow port, he turned to the left down Leith Wynd, and after clearing the suburbs of the Calton, he faced to the west, and proceeded along the line of road known at the time by the name of the Lang-gate, and which now forms the splendid terrace of Princes' street. On arriving opposite the castle, Dundee ordered his men to halt, and alighting from his horse, he clambered up the steep precipice on the west side of that fortress, and from the bottom of the wall held a conference with the duke of Gordon, who stood in an adjoining postern gate immediately above. No account has been preserved of the nature of the conversation which passed between these two devoted adherents of the king, but it is understood that the viscount entreated the duke to hold out the castle as long as he could, and that he would endeavour to raise the siege as soon as he had collected sufficient forces.

The unexpected appearance of Dundee riding down the High Street of Edinburgh in open day at the head of his troopers, had attracted a considerable number of spectators, and before he reached the Lang-gate, the whole population was in motion, many of whom left the city and witnessed at some distance the interview between the two noblemen. Intelligence of Dundee's departure, and his conference with the duke, was immediately brought to the convention, which was sitting at the time, and created a great sensation. Reports the most unfavourable were raised, and brought by messengers to the convention, that crowds were flocking to Dundee's standard, that their design was to attack the convention, and that the duke of Gordon meant to fire upon the city.

In the midst of the confusion and alarm occasioned by these rumours, the duke of Hamilton addressed the convention in a very angry tone, and told them, that the time was now come when the members should look to their own safety, and as he had no doubt there were enemies among them who were privy to Dundee's designs, he proposed, in order to prevent their escape, that the doors of the convention should be bolted and the keys laid upon the table. This motion being agreed to, the earl of Leven was directed to assemble some forces, which had been brought into the city by the Tory lords, for their protection; but their fears were soon dispelled by the departure of Dundee for the west, and by the return, to the city, of the inhabitants who had gone out to witness the exhibition; and whose appearance near Dundee's troopers, had given rise to the report that they had joined him. The convention despatched a Major Bunting with a party of horse in pursuit, but although he overtook Dundee, he had not the courage to attack him, alarmed by a threat with which, it is said, Dundee menaced him, that he would send him (Bunting) back to the convention, in a pair of blankets, did he dare to molest him.* Dundee crossed Stirling bridge the second day of his departure, and proceeded to his residence of Didhope, near Dundee, to ruminate over the events which had just passed, and to concoct his plans, under the new and extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed, for the restoration of James.†

* Life of Dundee.

† Before giving the details of Dundee's insurrection, the following short sketch will not be out of place. John Graham, Viscount Dundee, descended from the royal line of the Stuarts by the marriage of William, Lord Graham of Kincardine, his ancestor, with the Princess Mary, second daughter of King Robert III., was the eldest son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse in Angus or Forfarshire. Besides a royal descent, Viscount Dundee also claimed to be descended, through the family of Morphy in Mearns, from the illustrious house of Montrose, and was also allied to the noble family of Northesk by his mother, Lady Jean Carnegie, who was third daughter of the first earl. Young Graham entered the university of St Andrew's in the year sixteen hundred and sixty, where he acquired considerable distinction as a scholar. Mathematics were his favourite study, in the knowledge of which he particularly excelled; and, perhaps, this predilection may have determined him to embrace a military life. He left the university in sixteen hundred and seventy and went to France, into the service of which he entered as a volunteer. He afterwards transferred his services to Holland, and received the commission of a cornet in one of the Prince of Orange's troops of guards. He distinguished himself at the battle of Seneffe, in sixteen hundred and seventy-four, by saving the life of the prince, who had been dismounted, and carrying him off upon his own horse. Having been refused the command of one of the Scottish regiments in the employment of the States, he left the Dutch service and returned to Scotland in the year sixteen hundred and seventy-seven, and was appointed by Charles II., captain of one of the regiments then raising in Scotland for the suppression of the Whigs, in which service he acquired from the unfortunate covenanters, on account of his alleged severities, the unenviable appellation of "the bloody Clavers." The confidence which Charles had bestowed on Captain Graham was continued by his successor James, who, after promoting him successively to the ranks of brigadier and major-general, raised him to the peerage under the title of Viscount Dundee, on the twelfth of November, seven days after the invasion of the prince of Orange.

CHAPTER VI.

Dubious conduct of the king's adherents—Proceedings of the convention—Arrival of Major-general Mackay—Plan for settling the government proposed and carried—Crown of Scotland offered to, and accepted of, by William and Mary—Attempt to apprehend Dundee, who escapes to the north—Retires to Inverness where he is joined by Macdonald of Keppoch—Mackay marches to the north and advances upon Inverness—Dundee retires through Badenoch into Athole—Surprises Perth and appears before the town of Dundee—Retires into Lochaber—Colonel Ramsay arrives at Perth, marches through Athole—Retreats to Perth—Advance of Mackay from Inverness—Dundee marches into Badenoch—Mackay retreats through Strathspey and encamps at Colmnaill—Disaffection among Mackay's troops—Ruthven Castle surrenders to Dundee—Mackay retreats farther down Strathspey—Followed by Dundee—Retreat of Dundee—Skirmish between Mackay's dragoons and the Macleans—Dundee retires into Lochaber—Disbands his forces—Return of Mackay to Edinburgh.

THE idea of setting up a counter convention at Stirling, was immediately abandoned on the departure of Dundee from the capital. The marquis of Athole, whom the adherents of the king had chosen for their leader, showed no disposition to follow Dundee, and the earl of Mar, who, to save his loyalty made a feint to escape by the only guarded way, was apprehended, not unwillingly, as is supposed, by the sentinels, and brought back, but was released on giving his parole that he would not leave the city without the permission of the convention. The ambiguous conduct of these two noblemen, tended to cool the ardour of the few remaining adherents of the king, some of whom resolved to support the new order of things, whilst others, less pliant, absented themselves wholly from the convention. That assembly, after passing an act approving of the conduct of the English convention, in requesting the prince of Orange (now declared king of England) to take upon him the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, acknowledged their obligations to him as the assertor of their liberties, and also entreated him to assume the management of the affairs of Scotland. The convention, thereupon, despatched Lord Ross with a letter to William, embodying these sentiments in answer to the communication he had sent them, in which, moreover, they thanked him for having called them together, and declared that they would take effectual measures for the security of religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

Popular as the steps were which the convention were about to take, for settling the government of the nation, with the great body of the people, they were not insensible to the probability of a formidable op-

position being raised to their plans, by a bold and determined band of royalists in the north, who, headed by such a warlike and experienced commander as Dundee, might involve the whole kingdom in a civil war. To prepare therefore against such an emergency, the convention, before proceeding to the important business for which it had assembled, issued a proclamation requiring all persons from sixteen to sixty, and capable of bearing arms, to put themselves in readiness to take the field when called upon: they deprived all militia officers, suspected of attachment to the king, of their commissions, and filled up the vacancies thus occasioned, by others on whom they could rely. Sir Patrick Hume, who lay under an attainder for the part he took in Argyle's rebellion, was appointed to the command of the horse militia, and the earl of Leven was nominated to the command of a body of eight hundred men, raised for a guard to the city of Edinburgh.

Backed by these, and by about eleven hundred men of the Scotch brigade from Holland, which arrived at Leith from England, on the twenty fifth of March, under general Mackay, as major-general of all the forces in Scotland,* and by a force of two hundred dragoons which were also sent from England; the leaders of the convention proposed that a committee of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgesses, should be appointed to prepare and report upon a plan of settling the government. The archbishop of Glasgow and a few other adherents of the king, who still remained in the convention, made a bold stand

* General Hugh Mackay was son of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Scowry. He first entered the Venetian service, in which he distinguished himself. Leaving the service of that republic, he went to France, where he obtained a captaincy in Douglas's regiment. After serving under Marshall Turenne, in the campaign in the Netherlands, in sixteen hundred and seventy-two, captain Mackay offered his services to the prince of Orange, who gave him the commission of Major in one of the Scotch regiments, then serving in Holland. After reaching the rank of Colonel in the Dutch service, Mackay was invited to England by James II., from whom, on the fourth of June, sixteen hundred and eighty-five, he received the appointment of major-general, or commander in chief, of the forces in Scotland; and he was admitted a member of the Scottish privy council, by virtue of a warrant from the king, dated the eighteenth of the same month. But disliking the arbitrary proceedings of James, or preferring the service of his son-in-law, Mackay resigned his commission and returned to Holland. The prince raised him to the rank of major-general, and gave him the command of the British regiments, with which he invaded England. By a warrant signed by William and Mary, dated from Kensington, fourth January, sixteen hundred and eighty-nine, Mackay was appointed "major-general of all forces whatever, *within our ancient kingdom of Scotland.*" This assumption of the sovereign authority without waiting for the determination of the convention, was guarded against by the following entry in their records: "Edinburgh, 28th March, 1689. The estates of this kingdom considering that the king of England, in pursuance, of his acceptance of the administration of the public affairs of this kingdom, till the meeting of the estates had sent down Major-general Mackay, with some Scots regiments under his command, for the security of the estates, and general peace of the kingdom; they do acknowledge the great kindness and care of the king of England; and do hereby warrant and authorise the said Major-general Mackay, to command any forces, either standing or to be raised, with the militia, within this kingdom, &c." Mackay was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1690, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, 3d August, 1692.

against such an appointment, but they were outvoted. The committee, after considerable discussion, agreed to the following resolution on the motion of Sir John Dalrymple, who, in a speech of powerful reasoning, exposed the unmeaning application of the term *abdicate*, which had been used by the English convention, in answer to some members, who proposed that the committee should adopt the same form of proceeding. "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland, find and declare, that King James the Seventh being a profest papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king without ever taking the oath as required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotic power, and had governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he had forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." Upon the bringing up of the report, this vote was warmly opposed by Ross, bishop of Edinburgh, who proposed that the king should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions; but the bishop had few supporters, and the report was approved of by a very great majority.

The throne being then declared vacant, the convention, on the motion of the duke of Hamilton, appointed the committee to draw up an act for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary, and they were also instructed to prepare an instrument or declaration for preventing a recurrence of the grievances, of which the nation complained. On the eleventh of April, the committee made their report, which was immediately passed into a law without opposition, and solemnly proclaimed same day at the market cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord provost and magistrates of the city, and a large concourse of the nobility and gentry. A proclamation was published at the same time, prohibiting all persons from acknowledging, corresponding with, or assisting the late king, and forbidding them in any way from disputing or disowning the new sovereigns, or from misconstruing the proceedings of the estates, under severe penalties. The earl of Argyle on the part of the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the burghs, were thereupon despatched to London to offer the crown to William and Mary, on the conditions stipulated by the convention. The commissioners were introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, on the eleventh of May, and were of course well received, but on the coronation oath being presented to them by the earl of Argyle, William, who was rather disposed to support episcopacy in Scotland, demurred to take it, as it appeared by a clause which it contained, importing that their majesties should root out heresy, and all enemies to the true worship of God, to lay him under an obligation to become a persecutor. This difficulty, which it is evident was well founded, was

however got over by the commissioners declaring that such was not the meaning or import of the oath.

The convention having thus completed the object for which it was assembled, adjourned to the twenty-first day of May, not however till it had passed an act at utter variance with those principles of constitutional liberty, which it professed to establish. By this act the duke of Hamilton was vested with full power and authority to imprison any person he might suspect of disaffection to the new government, a violent and arbitrary measure certainly, which nothing but the extraordinary circumstances of the times could justify. The earl of Balcarras and viscount Dundee, were marked out as the first victims of this unconstitutional law. The latter had been already proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel by the convention, for absenting himself from its meetings, but he had hitherto made no movement, in consequence of instructions from the king, desiring him not to take the field till a force of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse, which he promised to send him from Ireland, should land in Scotland. These instructions, which had been privately sent to him by a messenger named Hay, were again renewed by one Brady, whom the king sent from Ireland, but who having incautiously made one Thomson, who accompanied him to Scotland, privy to them, he was apprehended, and being brought before the duke he confessed the whole affair, and delivered up the letters, of which he was the bearer.

This discovery hastened the determination of the duke to arrest Balcarras and Dundee, who accordingly despatched the earl of Leven with a party of two hundred men to apprehend them. Balcarras was seized at his country seat, carried to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the common jail, from which he was afterwards transferred to the castle after its surrender; but Dundee, who had received notice of the approach of the party, retired from his house at Dudhope to another country seat, named Glengilby, or Glenoglevy, which he also abandoned for the mountains, on the appearance of Sir Thomas Livingston at the head of a body of dragoons.

The favourable reception which James had met with in Ireland, and the discovery which the adherents of William in Scotland had made of his intention to land an army in Scotland, joined to the fact that the great body of the Highlanders, and almost the whole of the episcopal party in the north were hostile to the recent change in the government, could not fail to excite alarm in the minds of the partizans of the new dynasty. The brilliant achievements of Montrose had shown how inadequate the peaceful inhabitants of the south, though impelled by the spirit of religious fanaticism, were to contend with the brave and hardy mountaineers of the north, and as Dundee, as they were aware, was desirous of emulating his great predecessor, and was engaged in an active correspondence with the Highland chiefs, they must necessarily

have looked forward to a long and bloody, and perhaps a doubtful contest.

As Dundee possessed the confidence of the Highland clans, and as he looked chiefly to them for support in his attempt to restore the exiled monarch, Viscount Tarbat, one of the ablest politicians of the period, proposed a plan for detaching the chiefs from the cause of James, some of whom he averred were not so inimical to William nor so attached to James, as was supposed, but who, jealous of the power of Argyle, were justly apprehensive that if, as appearances indicated, that nobleman acquired an ascendancy in the national councils, he would make use of his power to oppress them, and would obtain a revocation of the grants of certain lands which belonged to his family and which had been forfeited in the reign of Charles II. Besides these reasons, there was another which was supposed to influence others in their determination to restore the fallen dynasty, and thereby crush the rising power of Argyle, viz. that they were greatly in arrears to him as his superior. Tarbat, therefore, suggested to General Mackay, that an attempt should be made, in the first place to obtain the submission of these last by making them an offer to discharge Argyle's claims against their lands, which he computed would amount to £5000 sterling, and that a separate offer should be made to the chief of the Macleans to make good a transaction which had been in part entered upon between him and the late earl for adjusting their differences. This plan was approved of by the English government, but the affair is said to have been marred by the appointment of Campbell of Cawdor as negotiator, who was personally obnoxious to the chiefs. Mackay attempted to open a correspondence with Cameron of Lochiel on the subject, but could obtain no answer, and Macdonell of Glen-gary, to whom he also made a communication, heartily despising the bribe, advised the general, in return, to imitate the conduct of General Monk, by restoring James.*

On leaving his residence at Glenoglevy, Dundee crossed the Dee, and entered the duke of Gordon's country, the inhabitants of which were friendly to the cause of James and where he was joined by about fifty horse under the earl of Dunfermline, who, as has been stated, was sent north by the duke of Gordon to raise his vassals in support of his royal master. Whilst Dundee was occupied in raising forces in this district, Mackay was despatched from Edinburgh with a considerable body of troops in pursuit. Mackay appointed the town of Dundee as the rendezvous for his troops, being the best station he could select for keeping the adjoining country, which was disaffected to the new government, in awe, and whence he could send parties to the north to watch the motions of Dundee. On arriving at Dundee, Mackay, leaving a part of his troops there under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, proceeded north with a body of about five hundred men, consisting of nearly an equal

* Mackay's Memoirs.

number of horse and foot, in quest of the viscount. At Brechin he received intelligence that Dundee, ignorant of course of Mackay's movements, was on his return to his seat of Glenoglevy in the braes of Angus, that he had already passed the Cairn-a-mount, and that he was expected to pass the night at Fettercairn, only a few miles north from Brechin. To prevent all knowledge of his approach, Mackay posted a party of fifty dragoons and a similar number of foot under his nephew Major Æneas Mackay, at the north-water or Gannachy bridge, for the purpose of preventing any communication during the night with Fettercairn, and with the intention of entering the village by break of day and surprising Dundee; but the viscount, who had been apprized of Mackay's movements, avoided the snare and recrossed the Dee.

As soon as Mackay was informed of this retrograde movement, he resolved to pursue Dundee, and, if possible, to overtake him before he should have time to collect any considerable body of forces. With a small but select body of horse and foot, therefore, he crossed the Dee at Kincardine, in the expectation of being joined in the course of his march by some country gentlemen who had given him assurances of support before leaving Edinburgh. In this expectation however he was sadly disappointed, for, with the exception of the master of Forbes, who met him after he had crossed the Dee, with a party of forty gentlemen of his name on horseback and a body of between five and six hundred men on foot, not one of them showed any inclination to join him. The fact was, that, with few exceptions, the people residing to the north of the Tay, were either indifferent to the course of events, or were opposed upon principle to any change in the hereditary succession to the crown, which many of them considered an infraction of the divine law, and which they believed no misconduct on the part of the king could justify. No man knew these things better than Dundee, who calculated that by means of this feeling he would soon be able to arouse the warlike north against the more peaceful south. But valuable as such a body of auxiliaries as that brought by the master of Forbes may be supposed to have been under these circumstances, Mackay, who had been accustomed to the finest troops in Europe, considered that they would be of no service to him, as, according to his own account, they were "ill armed," and appeared "little like the work" for which they were intended. He therefore declined the services of the Forbesees in the meantime, and after thanking the master for having brought them together, he ordered him to dismiss them to their homes, with instructions that they should re-assemble whenever a necessity occurred for defending their own country against the inroads of Dundee.

Having received intelligence of Dundee's route through Strathdon towards Strathbogie, Mackay continued his march in that direction through Aberdeenshire and Moray. On arriving at Strathbogie, he was informed that Dundee had crossed the Spey with about one hundred and fifty horse without opposition, although Mackay had given particular instruction to

the laird of Grant, while in Edinburgh, to occupy all the fords of that river. Mackay also learned, on the following day, by a letter sent to him by the magistrates of Elgin, which had been addressed to them by Dundee, that the viscount was at Inverness, that he had been there joined by Macdonald of Keppoch at the head of a thousand Highlanders, and that he intended to make Elgin his head quarters preparatory to an attack upon Mackay. The accession of the Macdonalds was of immense importance to Dundee, and was as seasonable as unexpected. The cause of their assembling was this. A deadly feud had for some time existed between Macdonald and Mackintosh, arising out of certain claims by the former upon the lands of the latter; and to such a pitch of armed violence did Keppoch carry his pretensions, that James II. felt himself called upon to interfere, by issuing a commission of fire and sword against him as a rebel. Keppoch, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the government, renewed his claims against Mackintosh; and having defeated the Mackintoshes in battle, he had advanced to Inverness, the inhabitants of which had supported the Mackintoshes against him, and was threatening to wreak his vengeance upon them if they did not purchase forbearance by paying him a large pecuniary fine. It was at this critical moment that Dundee arrived, who, anxious at once to secure the aid of Keppoch and the friendship of the citizens of Inverness, who had only a few days before proclaimed the prince of Orange, interposed between them and their exasperated foe, by granting the haughty chief his own bond in behalf of the town, by which he obliged himself to see Keppoch paid the sum of two thousand dollars as a compensation for the losses and injuries he alleged he had sustained at the hands of the Mackintoshes. To reconcile the two chieftains, with the view of obtaining the co-operation of both, was the next object of Dundee, but Mackintosh refused to attend a friendly interview solicited by Dundee; and to punish him for his obstinacy, Keppoch, at the desire of the viscount, drove away his cattle, part of which was kept for the use of the army, and the rest was appropriated by Keppoch's tenants.*

The news of the junction of the Keppoch Highlanders with Dundee, and of their intention to march to the south, was exceedingly disconcerting to Mackay, who had advanced into a hostile country with a handful of troops quite incapable of resisting the powerful force now opposed to them. The obvious and apparently most prudent course which presented itself, was, on the approach of the enemy, to make a sure and as slow a retreat as possible, and to bring up the forces which he had left behind him; but Mackay, rightly judging that a retreat, besides giving Dundee the command of a large tract of country favourable to his views, might create an impression that his adversary was much stronger than he really was, resolved not only to stand firm, but even to cross the Spey, and take possession of Elgin before Dundee should arrive there. Accordingly, after despatching a courier to bring up his re-

* Memoirs of Dundee.

serves from Brechin without delay, he crossed the Spey and advanced upon Elgin, with his dragoons at a hard trot, followed by two hundred veteran foot, who were so desirous of coming to action that they kept up with the horse the whole way from the river to the town. From Elgin, Mackay despatched messengers to some of the principal Whig proprietors in Moray, Ross, and Sutherland, desiring them to prepare themselves for joining him as soon as they should receive his orders.

Mackay lay a few days at Elgin in expectation of Dundee's advance; but as he did not appear, Mackay, who had just received a reinforcement of horse from Brechin, left Elgin and took the road to Inverness. When he reached Forres, he ascertained that Dundee had left Inverness, and had crossed the heights of Badenoch on his way to Athole. It is said that Dundee intended to have advanced upon Elgin, and to have engaged Mackay, but he was counteracted in his design by the refusal of a party of Camerons, who were under Keppoch, to march without the consent of their chief. The real cause appears to be, that having taken a considerable quantity of booty, they were desirous of securing it before meeting the enemy. Mackay continued his march to Inverness, where he was joined by five hundred of the Mackays, Grants, and Rosses. From Inverness, he despatched couriers to the adherents of the new government in the north to join him; and at the same time sent an express to Colonel Balfour at Edinburgh, to despatch Colonel Ramsay north with a select body of six hundred men to be drawn from the Dutch regiments. To effect as speedy a junction with him as possible, Mackay directed that Ramsay should march through Athole and Badenoch.

Dundee, on the other hand, was no less busy in his preparations for the ensuing campaign. He never ceased to carry on an active correspondence with many of the Highland chieftains whose confidence he possessed; and on his march through Badenoch he received the most gratifying assurances of support from the gentlemen of that country, with the exception of Mackintosh, who, as has been stated, had his cattle carried off by Dundee's orders. Having fixed upon Lochaber as the most central and convenient district for mustering his forces, Dundee appointed the friends of King James to assemble there on the eighteenth of May, and in the meantime he descended into Athole, with a body of one hundred and fifty horse, where he met with a cordial reception from Stewart of Ballechan, factor or steward to the marquis of Athole, and from the other vassals of the marquis. Whether Stewart and the other gentlemen of the district, in taking this decided part, acted from a private understanding with their chief, who still remained at Edinburgh, where he had given in an equivocal adherence to the government, or whether they were yet ignorant of the course he meant to follow, are questions which, for want of information, do not admit of solution, but the omission on the part of the marquis to send instructions to Stewart to raise a body of four hundred Athole Highlanders, to oppose the passage of

Dundee through his bounds to the south, should he attempt it, to which effect he had pledged himself to Mackay, before the latter left Edinburgh for the north, raises a suspicion that the gentlemen of Athole acted agreeably to the understood wishes of their chief.

Being informed that the lairds of Blair and Pollock were lying in Perth with a troop of horse, which they had raised for the service of the government, Dundee determined to surprise them, and accordingly he left Athole, and proceeded with celerity during the night towards Perth, which he entered unawares early next morning, and seized both these gentlemen and two other officers in their beds and carried them off prisoners. He also took away thirty horses and a sum of nine thousand merks of the public revenue which he found in the office of the collector; but in accordance with the principle which he says he had laid down for the rule of his conduct, to do nothing but "for conscience and loyalty's sake," he prohibited every interference with private property; and though he found a sum of about five hundred pounds in the same room where the cess and excise duties, which he carried off, lay, he left it untouched when he understood that it was private property. Leaving Perth, Dundee ranged through Angus, augmenting his horse, and after an ineffectual attempt to surprise Lord Rollo, who was raising a troop of horse, he appeared before the town of Dundee, then guarded by two troops of Livingston's dragoons. Their commander, unwilling to encounter Dundee, shut himself up in the town, and the viscount, after spending two nights at Dudhope, his country seat, returned to the Highlands, to meet his friends at the appointed place of rendezvous.

During all this time, Mackay remained at Inverness, waiting for the arrival of Ramsay's detachment from the south, which he had long and anxiously looked for, but which was detained from a cause of which he was ignorant. The cause was this. In conformity with Mackay's orders, Colonel Balfour immediately put the troops under Colonel Ramsay in readiness to march, but just as they were about to pass across the Frith of Forth, from Leith to Burntisland, an alarm was created by the appearance of a large number of vessels at the mouth of the Frith, which were at once supposed to be a French fleet with troops on board for the purpose of making a descent upon the coast in support of Dundee. As the seizure of the capital, it was naturally supposed, would be the first object of the invaders, the embarkation of Ramsay's detachment, which in such an event would be necessary for its defence, was countermanded; but in two or three days the fears of the government were dispelled, by having ascertained that the fleet in question consisted of a number of Dutch herring busses which were proceeding on their annual voyage to their fishing stations on the northern coast. This delay occasioned great embarrassment to the operations of Mackay, and almost proved fatal to him, as Dundee was thereby enabled to throw himself with a large force between Mackay and Ramsay's corps, and to threaten both with annihilation.

In terms of his instructions, Ramsay, after reaching Perth, proceeded through Athole, on his way to Inverness. Though the Athole-men, many of whom he found armed, offered no opposition to his march, yet as every thing around him assumed a warlike appearance, and as reports were continually brought to him, that Dundee had placed himself between him and Mackay, with a very large force, he grew alarmed, and so strong had his fears become when within a dozen of miles of Ruthven in Badenoch, that he resolved to return to Perth. He had previously despatched a letter to Mackay, informing him of his advance, and appointing him to meet him at Ruthven on a given day, but he neglected to send another express acquainting Mackay of his design to return to Perth. The retreat of Ramsay was disorderly, and some of his men deserted. The Athole men, who kept hovering about him, were desirous of attacking him, but they were prevented, though with difficulty, by the gentlemen of the district. It was on a Saturday night that Mackay received Ramsay's despatch, and so anxious was the general to form a speedy junction with Ramsay's detachment, that he left Inverness the following morning, taking with him only two days' provisions. When about half way between Inverness and Ruthven, he received an express from the governor of the castle, informing him of Ramsay's retreat, and that Dundee had entered Badenoch on Sunday morning, (the morning of Mackay's march from Inverness) with an immense force, and was within a few miles of the castle.

To understand the cause of this speedy movement on the part of Dundee, it is necessary to state, that two or three days before Ramsay's arrival in Athole, Stewart of Ballechan had intercepted a despatch from Mackay, which he forwarded to Dundee, and who, in consequence, became acquainted with their plan of uniting their forces. To counteract which, and that he might have an opportunity of successively attacking, and probably destroying both divisions, he had hastened from the place of rendezvous in Lochaber into Badenoch, with a force of two thousand men, which was shortly increased to three thousand. Yet, notwithstanding the discovery thus made by Dundee of Mackay's intentions, the information would not have availed him, had Ramsay, instead of being intimidated by the false intelligence he received, continued his march; for, according to Mackay's own calculations, he might have reached Ruthven on Saturday night, before Dundee entered Badenoch, and, even if Dundee had followed him, he could have made a safe retreat into the laird of Grant's territory, where he would have been supported by a body of seven or eight hundred men.*

The first person who had met Dundee in Lochaber on the appointed day was Glengary, who had with him a body of between two and three hundred men. He was followed by Macdonald of Morer, at the head of nearly two hundred of Clan Ranald's men, and by Appin and Glen-

* Memoirs.

co, with about the same number of men. Dundee had been subsequently joined by Loehiel, who had six hundred men under him, and by Keppoch, at the head of two hundred; but Sir Alexander Maclean, who had promised also to attend, failed to appear.

The intelligence communicated by the commander of Ruthven castle was exceedingly perplexing to Mackay, who must have felt keenly the disappointment of Ramsay's flight. He saw himself with a handful of men surrounded by a warlike and hostile population, and within a short march of a powerful force, which he could not singly resist—with few friends on whom he could place much reliance, and who, either lukewarm in the cause for which he had taken the field, or indifferent to the result of the ensuing contest, were ready to desert him when fortune should appear to declare against him. He had, in the unfortunate situation in which he was placed, only a choice of evils before him. To have proceeded on his march with the view of cutting his way through the enemy, would have been, even if practicable, an imprudent and very dangerous step, and to have taken up a position in a district where he would have been exposed to be surrounded and cut off from his resources, would have been equally rash. He had, therefore, no alternative which he could prudently adopt, but either to fall back upon Inverness, or retire down the vale of the Spey. He preferred the latter course for these reasons, that although such a movement would leave Inverness quite exposed to Dundee's army, that disadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the protection which would be thereby afforded to the laird of Grant's lands, near the borders of which Dundee was now hovering, and by the obstruction which the interposition of Mackay's troops would present to any attempt on the part of Dundee to recruit his army in the duke of Gordon's country. Besides, by making Strathspey the scene of his operations, Mackay expected to be able to keep up a communication with the south through Angus and Aberdeenshire, and the adjoining parts of Moray, which he could not maintain if he returned to Inverness.

Accordingly, after despatching an express to Inverness, apprizing the garrison of his intentions, and promising assistance, should Dundee venture to attack the town, Mackay began a rapid march towards Strathspey, which he continued during the night, and did not halt till he had descended a considerable way down that vale. Dundee, who had closely pursued him, afraid of exposing his men to the attacks of Mackay's cavalry, did not follow him after he had gained the flatter part of the Strath, but kept aloof at the distance of some miles in a more elevated position where he encamped. Notwithstanding his inferiority in point of numbers, the revolutionary general determined to endeavour to allure Dundee from his stronghold by offering him battle, and having refreshed his men, wearied by a long march of twenty-four hours, he advanced next morning to within a mile of Dundee's camp, and, after reconnoitering the position of the enemy, made preparations

for receiving them ; but Dundee, secure from danger, by the nature of the ground he occupied, showed no disposition to engage. It is probable that, in acting thus passively, he was influenced by the conduct of the highlanders, who were averse to engage with cavalry, and some of whom (the Camerons, according to Mackay,) fled to the neighbouring hills on Mackay's approach. Seeing no hope of drawing the viscount out of his trenches, Mackay returned in the evening to his camp, which he removed the following day to Colmnaill, about six miles lower down the Spey, where he considered himself more secure from any sudden surprise or attack, and where he was speedily joined by two troops of Livingston's dragoons from Dundee. The ground occupied by Mackay was a spacious plain, bounded on the south by the Spey, which effectually protected his rear, whilst his front was covered by a wood and some marshes which skirted the plain on the north. The right of Mackay's position was protected by a small river with a rough and stony bottom. The general himself took up his quarters at Belcastle, a summer-house in the neighbourhood belonging to the laird of Grant, whence he despatched ten or twelve of Grant's tenants, selected by Grant himself as the most intelligent and trustworthy, to watch and bring him notice of Dundee's motions. These scouts kept up a constant communication with Mackay, who received a personal report from one or other of them almost every alternate hour. In the meantime, he kept his whole army under arms, and to prevent surprise, small parties of horse and dragoons patrolled the neighbouring woods, and some foot were stationed along the banks of the little river on the right. But these precautions would probably have been unavailing, if the government general had not timeously been made acquainted with the fact, that there were enemies in his camp who were watching an opportunity to betray him.

For some time, a report had been current that Livingston's regiment of dragoons were disaffected to the government ; but as Mackay could not trace the rumour to any authentic source, he disbelieved it, and to mark his confidence in their fidelity, he had ordered the two troops which were stationed at Dundee to join him in the north. But two days after their arrival at Colmnaill, an occurrence took place which confirmed the report, and excited the most alarming apprehensions in the mind of the general. Two deserters having arrived from Dundee's camp, were brought before Mackay for examination. As one of them was recognised as having been a sergeant in Wauchope's regiment in England, from which he had deserted, the general suspected him to be a spy, and threatened to punish him as such if he did not give a satisfactory account of himself. This man thereupon requested a private interview with Mackay ; and all the officers, with the exception of Sir Thomas Livingston, having withdrawn, he informed the general, that with few exceptions, all the dragoon officers had entered into a conspiracy to betray him ; and he named Lieutenant Colonel Livingston, and Captains Mur-

ray, Livingston, and Crichton, and Lieutenant Murray, as the ring-leaders. In answer to a demand made by Mackay for proofs of this assertion, the deserters informed him, that they had heard Dundee frequently assure the chiefs of the clans that he could depend upon the dragoons, in proof of which they had seen him read letters from his lady to that effect, and heard him inform the chiefs, that till he saw a favourable opportunity for requiring the services of the dragoons, he would allow them to remain in the enemy's camp, where they might be useful to him. The deserters concluded by informing Mackay that they had not left Dundee's camp altogether of their own accord, but partly at the instigation of the lairds of Blair and Pollock, who had been carried about by Dundee as prisoners ever since their capture at Perth, and who were anxious to prevent Mackay from engaging, under these circumstances, with such a small party of troops as he then had.

This information, though calculated to shake the general's confidence in the fidelity of these dragoons, was too vague and unsatisfactory to be relied upon. Mackay appears at first to have had some doubts of the truth of the statement; but his unwillingness to believe the accusation gave place to an opposite impression when, after ordering the deserters to be confined in Belcastle, and threatening them with exemplary punishment should it turn out that they were spies sent by Dundee, they expressed themselves quite satisfied to abide the result of any investigation he might institute.

On the removal of the deserters, Mackay requested Sir Thomas Livingston's opinion as to the correctness of the information which had been communicated by them respecting the officers of his regiment. The colonel, who, according to Crichton, was secretly a partizan of the exiled sovereign, told Mackay, that he did not believe that the private men were, perhaps, with a very few exceptions, aware of any plot; but he stated, that he himself had of late begun to suspect the fidelity of the officers named, especially since the recent junction of the two troops, as he had often seen them in serious conversation together, which they immediately dropt on his approach. Mackay, though now satisfied that there were traitors in his camp, took no steps to secure them, but continued to remain in his position waiting for the arrival of Barclay's dragoons and Leslie's foot from Forfar and Cupar Angus, whither he had despatched a trusty Highlander, who had been accustomed to trade in Strathdee and Braemar, and who, consequently, would not be suspected as the bearer of despatches, with an express to hasten their march. Mackay might have retreated down the river, but he was advised to remain at Colmnakill by Sir Thomas Livingston and the laird of Grant, for these reasons, that by retaining his ground, his expected succours would be every day drawing nearer to him, and that every day thus spent would be lost to Dundee, who was prevented, by his presence, from communicating with those places in the low country where he expected reinforcements, particularly in horse, of which

he stood in most need. Besides, by retiring, Mackay considered that he might probably be forced to recross the Grampians before the two regiments could join him, in which case, he would leave the whole of the north exposed to Dundee, who would probably avail himself of the opportunity to raise a force too formidable to be encountered.

In the meantime, Dundee sent a detachment of his army to lay siege to the old castle of Ruthven, in which Mackay, on his arrival at Inverness, had placed a garrison of about sixty of Grant's Highlanders, under the command of John Forbes, brother to Culloden. The garrison being in want of provisions, capitulated on the condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be allowed to return to their homes on their parole. While conducted through Dundee's camp, Forbes observed all the horses saddled, and his army preparing as if for an immediate march. In proceeding towards Colmakill, he met, at the distance of about a mile from Dundee's lines, two men on horseback, one in a red, the other in a blue uniform. The latter immediately challenged him with the usual parole, "*Qui vive ?*" on which Forbes returning the "*Vive le Roi Guillaume,*" as indicative of his loyalty to the existing government, the man in red informed him, that they had been despatched from Mackay's camp to obtain intelligence of the enemy. Captain Forbes then cautioned the men of the risk they would run if they proceeded farther, but regardless of his advice, they rode forward in the direction of Dundee's camp. Forbes having mentioned this occurrence to Mackay while at dinner the same day, the latter immediately suspected that the officers of dragoons were in communication with Dundee, as he had given no such order as the man clothed in red had pretended. He, thereupon, desired inquiry to be made if any dragoons had been sent out, and by whom; and as blue was the uniform of Livingston's men, he desired them to be instantly mustered to ascertain if any were absent; but the general had scarcely issued these instructions, when some of his scouts brought him intelligence that Dundee's army was moving down the Strath towards Colmakill. This movement, combined with the information which had been communicated to him by Forbes, left no doubt of the treachery of the dragoons.

Under these circumstances, Mackay had no alternative but an immediate retreat. Calling, therefore, his commanding officers together, he ordered them to put their men under arms and to form them upon the plain in marching order. He next addressed himself to the laird of Grant, and after expressing his regret at the step he was about to take, by which Grant's lands would be left for a short time exposed to the ravages of Dundee's army, he requested him to order his tenants to drive their cattle down the country out of the reach of the enemy, who would probably overlook them in their anxiety to follow him in his retreat. Grant listened to this advice with becoming attention, but to show how little he regarded his own personal interest, as opposed to what he con-

ceived his duty to his country, he observed, that though he might lose every thing by Dundee's invasion of his country, he would not take one step prejudicial to the government.

In fixing the order of his retreat, Mackay adopted the plan he had been accustomed to follow, that he might not excite the jealousy of the dragoons, or make them suspect that he was distrustful of them. Accordingly, as was his usual practice, he divided the dragoons into two bodies, one of which consisting of Major and Captain Balfour's companies, he placed in the rear, and the other four companies commanded by the disaffected officers he placed in the front, that he might overawe them by his own presence. Immediately before the two troops of dragoons which formed the rear-guard, Mackay placed two hundred foot, chiefly grenadiers of the three Scoto-Dutch regiments, and next to them the English horse, then scarcely seventy men strong, and between those horse and the four companies of dragoons which were led by Sir Thomas Livingston, he posted two hundred of Lord Reay's and Balnagown's Highlanders, having previously dismissed Grant's men, whom he had informed their chief he would leave behind to protect their own country from Dundee's stragglers.

There were three ways by which Mackay could retreat,—either towards Inverness, or through Strathdown and Glenlivet, a movement which would bring him near his expected reinforcements, or down Strathspey. Of these routes Mackay would have preferred the southern; but as the population of Strathdown and Glenlivet was catholic, and of course hostile to him; and as the ground in those districts was unfavourable to the operations of cavalry in case of attack, he resolved to march down Strathspey. But as he was desirous to conceal his route from Dundee, he did not begin his march till nightfall, at which time Dundee was within three miles of his camp. In his course down Speyside he passed by the house of Grant of Ballindalloch, who was serving under Dundee, and arrived early the following morning at Balveny, where he halted to refresh his men and procure a supply of provisions. There he met Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, from whom he obtained some men to act as intelligencers. Some of these he despatched back in the direction he had come, to ascertain if Dundee still remained in the Strath; but apprehensive that Dundee would take a southerly course, by crossing the Strath, with the view of throwing himself between Mackay and his reinforcements, he sent off others in that direction. These scouts soon returned with intelligence that Dundee was still in Strathspey. This information was satisfactory to Mackay, and relieved him from a state of the most painful anxiety he had been in on his march; but he was still greatly perplexed by the want of provisions, which, though hourly expected, had not yet arrived.

Desirous, however, to wait for supplies as long as consistent with safety, he again despatched some of Gordon's men in the direction he supposed Dundee would take, and at sametime sent out a sergeant with a party of

twelve dragoons back by the course he had marched to bring him notice of Dundee's motions. Mackay waited with the greatest impatience till about five o'clock in the evening for the return of the dragoons, without any signs of their appearance, a circumstance which alarmed him so much, that although a quantity of provisions and oats had just reached his camp, he would not allow time for baking bread or feeding the horses, but gave orders for an immediate march. Accordingly, the whole party moved off in the same order as before, and passed a small river about a mile above the place where they had been encamped; but they had scarcely advanced half a mile when Sir Thomas Livingston, who happened to be a little behind, observed the enemy on the other side of the river they had just passed, marching towards the ford by which Mackay's men had crossed. On being informed of this, Mackay, after ordering Lieutenant-colonel Livingston, who was at the head of the vanguard, to continue at a pretty quick pace; galloped to the rear, and having despatched Sir Thomas Livingston to the front to lead the party, with instructions to keep up a constant pace, but without wearying the troops, he posted himself upon a rising ground with about fifty or sixty horse and dragoons in view of Dundee's army, where he was joined by the master of Forbes with about fifty horse.

When Dundee observed the party of dragoons drawn up on the hillock he immediately halted, drew in his stragglers, and marshalled his men into battalions, keeping up the usual distinction of the clans. In the meantime Mackay sent off his nephew, Major Mackay, to a hill which lay about a quarter of a mile to his left, from which he could obtain a nearer and more correct view of Dundee's force and his motions. The Viscount's horse immediately passed the river, and drew up along the bank to protect the passage of the foot, who in their turn also formed till the baggage was brought over. It was now after sunset, but the Viscount continued to advance. Mackay, who was nearly two miles behind his rear, thereupon began to ride off with his party, but he had not proceeded far when a cry of "halt!" met his ears. On turning round he observed Major Mackay galloping after him, who, having observed a party of horse which he supposed to belong to Dundee, moving along the face of a hill to the General's left, and which from the twilight appeared more numerous than it really was, had hastened to acquaint the General of the circumstance. Mackay, thereupon, sent an order to Colchester's detachment to halt on the first level spot of ground they should come to. It turned out, however, that this party which had occasioned such alarm was no other than the sergeant with the twelve dragoons of Livingston's regiment which had been sent out by Mackay in the morning to reconnoitre. It was afterwards ascertained that this sergeant was concerned in the plot, and that he was the same individual in blue, whom Captain Forbes had met with within a mile of Dundee's camp. This man pretended, however, that he had run great danger of capture; and that he had taken such a round-about way merely to avoid the enemy, though

he and his party had been with Dundee the whole day, and had conducted him over the ground which Mackay had passed on the preceding day. With the exception of a short halt ordered by Sir Thomas Livingston, on a false alarm being spread that Mackay was engaged, the government forces continued their march all night till they crossed the river of Bogie, where, from pure exhaustion, they halted at four o'clock in the morning. The General then ordered the provisions which had reached the camp previous to his retreat, to be distributed among his troops, and desired the horsemen to lead their horses into an adjoining corn-field and feed them. When the men were refreshing themselves Mackay received the agreeable intelligence that Barclay and Lesley's regiments would join him that day, but "to play sure game," as he himself says, after allowing his men two hours' rest, he marched three miles further down towards his succours, and took up a position at the foot of Suy-hill upon the common road from the south to the north, by which he expected the two regiments would march. But this precaution was unnecessary, as Dundee had halted within three miles of Strathbogie during the night, and spent the following day in laying waste the lands of Edinglassie, and pillaging and destroying the house of Sir George Gordon the proprietor.

Having sent a pressing order to Barclay and Lesley to hasten their march, Mackay had the satisfaction of being joined by the former at twelve o'clock noon, and by the latter at six o'clock in the evening, after a long and fatiguing march. Resolved that no time should be lost in turning the chase upon Dundee before he should be aware of these reinforcements, Mackay put his army in marching order, and advanced towards him after ten o'clock at night. But his designs were made known to Dundee by two dragoons who had been despatched by their officers. These men, on the departure of Dundee, were discovered in a wood by Sir George Gordon, the master of Forbes, Major Mackay, and others, who, along with some Highlanders, a servant, and a boy belonging to one Captain Bruce, formerly an officer in Livingston's dragoons in the reign of King James, had there concealed themselves. The general being satisfied, on examining of the servant and boy, that the sergeant before mentioned had been in Dundee's camp, and that he had had a conference with Dundee, and the two dragoons having confessed nearly as much themselves, he immediately put Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston and the other suspected officers under arrest. He thereupon continued his march, and arrived at Balveny that night, and on the following day reached Colmnakill, which he had left only five days before. Here having received notice that a party of Dundee's men was on the other side of the adjoining river, he sent orders to Sir Thomas Livingston to cross with two hundred dragoons and drive them away; but Sir Thomas having been previously informed that the laird of Grant was sorely pressed by the retiring forces of Dundee, had anticipated the general's orders, and had advanced two miles beyond the river with a greater

force, in pursuit of a body of highlanders. These were, according to Balcanquhall, Sir John Maclean's men, who were on their way to join Dundee, and who, alarmed at the appearance of such a large number of dragoons, threw away their plaids and betook themselves to an adjoining hill, where they formed. They are stated by the last-mentioned author to have amounted only to two hundred men, but Mackay, in his memoirs,* states the number at five hundred. Mackay observes, that but for the indiscretion of Livingston's adjutant, who by riding a quarter of a mile in advance, gave the Highlanders timely notice of the approach of the dragoons, not one of them would have escaped, but being thereby enabled to gain the top of the hill before the dragoons came up with them, they sustained a loss of only eighty or a hundred men. In this skirmish, a captain of Barclay's regiment and six dragoons were killed, and some wounded.

Having been joined by Ramsay's detachment, which during the occupancy of Strathspey by the hostile armies, had, unknown to Mackay, penetrated through Athole and Badenoch and reached Inverness, Mackay continued to pursue Dundee into Badenoch, but as the latter retired into Lochaber, Mackay gave over the pursuit on learning that Dundee had dismissed the greater part of his forces. Mackay, thereupon, marched to Inverness with Livingston's dragoons, Leslie's foot, and a party of Leven's and Hastings' regiments, and two hundred Highlanders, and he sent Berkeley's regiment to Strathbogie, where there was abundance of grass, and the three Dutch regiments to Elgin. From Inverness, Mackay despatched an express to the duke of Hamilton, urging upon him the necessity of placing "a formidable garrison" at Inverlochy, and small ones in other places in the north, without which he considered that it would be utterly impossible to subdue the Highlanders, who, on the approach of an army, for which a fortnight's subsistence could not be found in their mountainous regions, could easily retire to difficult passes and other places inaccessible to regular troops. He, therefore, requested that his grace and the parliament would consider the matter before the season was farther spent, and provide the necessary means for carrying such a design into effect against his arrival in the south, whither he intended to proceed in a few days.

On his way to the south, Mackay despatched fifty horse, as many of Berkeley's dragoons, and sixty foot, to take possession of the house of Braemar, into which he intended to place a garrison to keep the Braemar men in check, and to cover the county of Aberdeen; and he ordered the captain of dragoons, after putting twenty of his men into the house, to march forward, without halting, before break of day, to the house of Inverey, about three miles farther off, for the purpose of seizing Inverey and some other gentlemen who had lately been with Dundee. But, fortunately for Inverey and his guests, the officer trifled off his

* P. 38, of the copy printed for the Bannatyne club.

time in Braemar house, refreshing his horses, till the dawn of the morning, and the approach of him and his party being perceived, Inverey and his friends escaped in their shirts to a neighbouring wood. Disappointed of their prey, the party retired to the house of Braemar, where, after setting their horses loose to graze, they laid themselves down to repose; but they were soon wakened from their slumbers by some firing from a party on a rock above, which had so alarmed the horses that they were found galloping to and fro in the adjoining fields. As soon as the dragoons had caught their horses, which they had some difficulty in doing, they galloped down the country. The party on the rock was headed by Inverey, who had collected a number of his tenantry for the purpose of expelling the dragoons from his bounds, and who, on their retreat, set fire to Braemar house, which was consumed.

The party of foot, which, having charge of a convoy of provisions and ammunition for the intended garrison, had not yet arrived, on hearing of the retreat of the dragoons, shut themselves up in a gentleman's house, to secure themselves from attack, and the commanding officer sent an express after Mackay, who was then on his way to the south, acquainting him of the failure of the enterprise. On receiving this intelligence, Mackay, although he had not a day's bread on hand, and was in great haste to reach Edinburgh, "to put life in the design of Inverlochy," turned off his course and crossed the hills towards Braemar, with his foot, after giving directions to Berkeley's dragoons to march up Deeside. Finding Braemar house destroyed, and the vaults of it incapable of holding a garrison, Mackay, after burning Inverey's house and laying waste all his lands, descended the river to Abergeldie, where he left a detachment of seventy-two men as a check upon the Farquharsons. And having placed the other troops which he had brought from the north in quarters farther down the Dee, he posted off to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of July, about a fortnight before the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, which capitulated on the fourteenth of June, after a siege of three months.

On his arrival at Edinburgh, Mackay was exceedingly mortified to find that no steps whatever had been taken by the government for putting his design into execution, of erecting a fort at Inverlochy. As the season was now too far advanced to collect materials for such an erection, he proposed in council, that a body of fifteen hundred pioneers should be levied in the northern counties, each of whom should be obliged to carry a spade, shovel, or pickaxe, along with him, and that a month's provision of meal, with horses to carry it, should be furnished, along with a force of four hundred men. But this plan the general himself confesses, "considering the inability, ignorance, and little forwardness of the government to furnish the necessary ingredients for the advance of their service, was built upon a sandy foundation, and much like the building of castles in the air."* As an instance of the slowness and irresolution

* *Memoirs*, p. 46.

of government, Mackay mentions, that after his return from the north, they took three weeks to deliberate upon the mode of conveying a fortnight's provisions for four hundred men ; by which delay he says he lost the opportunity of preventing Dundee from occupying Athole, Badenoch, and other parts of the southern highlands.

CHAPTER VII.

Probabilities of success—Dundee solicits aid from Ireland—Plan of campaign—Preparations of Mackay—Conference between him and Lord Murray who proceeds to Athole—Conduct of the Athole-men—Arrival of an Irish Reinforcement which joins Dundee—Departure of Mackay to Perth—March of Dundee into Athole—The Battle of Killiecrankie—Death and character of Dundee.

THE return of Mackay to the capital, after a fruitless and exceedingly harassing series of marches and countermarches, seems to have abated the ardour of some of the supporters of the government, who, disappointed in their expectations, and displeased at the preference shown by the court to others they considered less deserving than themselves, had become either indifferent about the result of the struggle, or secretly wished for a restoration. That such an event might occur was indeed far from improbable. James was already in possession, with the exception of two cities, of all Ireland, and William was by no means popular in England. To give, therefore, a decided and favourable turn to James's affairs in Scotland nothing was wanting but to aid Dundee immediately with a few thousand men from Ireland; but although the necessity of such a step was urged by Dundee in his communications with the exiled monarch, the latter did not, unfortunately for himself, consider the matter in the same light. The expectation of such a reinforcement, which they confidently looked for, had, however, its due effect upon the minds of the highlanders, who gladly endured during the recent campaign all those painful privations which necessarily attend an army scantily provided with the means of subsistence. No man was better fitted by nature than Dundee for command under such difficulties, and at the head of such troops. Whilst by his openness, frankness, and disinterestedness he acquired an ascendancy over the minds of the chiefs, he was equally successful by attending personally to their wants, by mixing frequently among them, and by sharing their privations and fatigues, in securing the obedience of the clans. But valuable and important as the services were of such a bold and devoted

band, it was evident that without a sudden and powerful diversion from Ireland, or a considerable rising in the lowlands, it was impossible for Dundee, from the paucity of his forces, and the want of cavalry, to carry the war into the south with any possible chance of success.

As the Irish reinforcements were daily expected, Dundee enjoined the chiefs of the clans, who, with their men, had taken a temporary leave of absence on the departure of Mackay, to rejoin him as soon as possible, and from his head quarters at Moy, in Lochaber, he sent expresses to the other chiefs who had not yet joined him to hasten to the approaching muster.*

* The following letter to Macleod of Macleod will give some idea of Dundee's prospects at this time :—

“ For the LAIRD of MACLEOD. ”*

“ MOY, Jun 23, 1689.

“ SIR,—Glengaire gave me ane account of the substance of a letter he received from yow: I shall only tell yow, that if you heasten not to land your men, I am of opinion yow will have litle occasion to do the king great service; for if he land in the west of Scotland, yow will come too late, as I believe yow will thinck yourself by the news I have to tell yow. The prince of Orange hath wrenten to the Scots counsell not to fatig his troops any more by following us in the hills, but to draw them together in a body to the west; and, accordingly, severall of the forces that were in Pearthshire and Angus, are drawn to Edinr., and some of M'Kay's regments are marcht that way from him: he further informs that, besides the fifty-two sail alraidy in Irland of French men-of-warr, there are eighty more from Brest, who have fifteen thousand land souldiers aboard, and that he knows not whither they design for England or Irland. He orders the whole kingdome to be put in ane posture of defence, so that all persons must draw to armes, and take pairty one way or other. There came an express, some weeks ago, from Londondairy to Duke Hamiltone, telling, if they got not immediat relief, they could hold out no longer. We hear also from Edinr. that they offered to render, if the king would give any capitulation, which the king refuses, being advised that its necessar to make exemple of them for the terrour of others. Mr Hay, who came hither yesterday from Irland, gives account that, above three weeks ago, he was at the siege, and then hors flesh was sold for sixpence a pound, and for cannon bullets they were shooting lumps of brick wrapped in peuter plates. It is now certainly rendert. Mr Hay saw relief offer to land, but was beat back with great loss. Some of the French fleet hath been seen amongst the islands, and hath taken the two Glasgow frigats. The king, being thus master by sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed alraidy in the west. He will have litle to oppose him there, and will probably march towards England; so that we who are in the graitest readiness will have ado to join him. I have receaved by Mr Hay a commission of lieutenant-general, which miscairied by Breidy. I have also receaved a double of a letter miscairied by Breidy to me, and a new letter, dated the 18th of May; both which are so kind, that I am asham'd to tell. He counts for great services, which I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my deutie. He promises not only to me, but to all that will join, such marks of favor, as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is, in being loyall. He sayes, in express terms, that his favours shall vy with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters, given full power of counsell to such councellers here, as shall be joined in the king's service, and given us power, with the rest of his freends, to meet in a convention, by his authority, to counteract the mock convention at Edinr., whom he hath declaired traitours, and comanded all his loyall subjects to make warr against them; in obedience to which, I

* The original of this letter, which is addressed to John Macleod of Macleod, is in possession of the present Laird of Macleod, his descendant.

About the same time he despatched a letter to the earl of Melfort, in which, after adverting to various circumstances, he advises him to send over from Ireland a body of five or six thousand men to Inverlochy, which he considered the safest landing place that could be selected as being "far from the enemy," and whence an easy entrance could be obtained for an army into Moray, Angus, or Perthshire. On the return of the transports from Inverlochy, Dundee advised Melfort to send over as many foot as he conveniently could to the point of Cantyre, on hearing of whose landing he would advance as far as the neck of Tarbert to meet them, and that on the junction taking place, Dundee would march "to raise the country," and afterwards proceed to the passes of the Forth to meet the king, who, it was supposed, would follow the expedition. To deceive Mackay and the Scottish council, and to induce them to withdraw their forces from the north, and thus leave him at greater liberty to organize it, Dundee industriously circulated a report that the forces from Ireland would land altogether in some quarter south of the Clyde. To give an appearance of certainty to the rumour, he wrote a letter to Lady Errol, a warm supporter of James's interest, acquainting her of the expected landing in the west, and to prevent suspicion of any *ruse* being intended, he inclosed some proclamations, which, it is presumed, he intended to issue when the Irish arrived. As

have called all the clannes. Captain of Glenrannald* is near us these severall dayes; the laird of Baro† is there with his men. I am persuaded Sir Donald‡ is there by this. McClean§ lands in Morven to-morrow certainly. Apen,|| Glenco,** Lochell,†† Glengaire,‡‡ Keppock,§§ are all raidy. Sir Alexander|| and Largo*** have been here with there men all this while with me, so that I hope we will go out of Lochaber about thre thousand. Yow may judge what we will gett in Strathharig, Badenock, Athol, Marr, and the duke of Gordon's lands, besides the loyall shires of Bamf, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, Perth, and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the north, as the king's army will be of the south. I had almost forgot to tell you of my Lord Broadalban,††† who I suppose will now come to the feelds. Dumbeth, with two hundred hors and eight hundred foot, are said to be endeavouring to join us. My L. Seaforth††† will be in a few dayes from Irland to rais his men for the king's service. Now, I have layd the whole business before yow, yow will easily know what is fit for yow to do. All I shall say further is, to repeat and renew the desyre of my former letter, and assure yow that I am,

" Sir,

" Your most humble servant,

" DUNDIE.

" You will receave the king's letter to yow."

* Allan Macdonald, captain of Clanranald, then under age. Ronald Macdonald of Benbecula, his tutor, attended him.

† R. Macneil of Barra.

‡ Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate.

§ Sir John Maclean of Dowart and Morven.

|| Stewart of Appin.

** Alexander Macdonald, or Macean of Glenco.

†† Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochell.

‡‡ Alexander Macdonell, younger of Glengary.

§§ Dundee "used to call him Coll of the Cowes, because he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way."—*Deposition of Lieutenant Coll in appendix to acts of parliament, 1690.*

|||| Sir Alexander Maclean of Otter.

*** Alexander Macdonald of Largo.

††† John, first earl of Breadalbane.

††† Kenneth, fourth earl of Seaforth.

wished and anticipated, this despatch was intercepted and sent to Edinburgh. The device appears to have in part succeeded, as Dundee informs Melfort, that the government forces were afterwards withdrawn from Cantyre.*

* "For the EARL of MELFORT."

"MOY IN LOCHABER, June 27, 1689.

After exculpating himself from a charge made against him by the Earl, of his name having been 'made use of for carrying on designs against the Earl,' Dundee thus proceeds:—

"When we first came out I had but fifty pounds of powder; more I could not get, all the great towns and seaports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder, and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broad-sword . . . The advocate † is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh, but he will be let out on security. Earl Breadalbin keeps close in a strong house; he has and pretends the gout. Earl Errol stays at home; so does Aberdeen. Earl Marshall is at Edinburgh, but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The Bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally stand right. Duke Queensberry was present at the cross, when their new mock King was proclaimed, and I hoar, voted for him, though not for the throne vacant. His brother the Lieutenant General, some say is made an Earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely, for he swore to me to make amends. Tarbat is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochiel, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting, the two Dalrymples and others against Skelmarly, ‡ Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others now joined with that worthy prince, Duke Hamilton. M. Douglas is now a great knave, as well as beast; as is Glencairne, Morton, and Eglinton, and even Cassillis is gone astray, misled by Gibby. § Panmure keeps right, and at home, so does Strathmore, Southesk, and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh under caution, so is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the mean time; and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The Duke of Gordon, they say, wanted nothing for holding out but hopes of relief. Earl of Dunfermling stays constantly with me, and so does Lord Dunkell, Piteur, and many other gentlemen, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot, for them and others that will join.

"My lord, I have given my opinion to the king concerning the landing. I would first have a good party sent over to Inverlochy, about 5000 or 6000, as you have convenience of boats; of which as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well, but rather more; for had I had horse for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochy is safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may elude from thence, to go to Murray by Inverness, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the passage is long by sea and inconvenient, because of the island; but in this season that is not to be feared. So soon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit, to the Point of Kintyre, which will soon be done; and then the king has all the boats for his own landing. I should march towards Kintyre, and meet at the neck of Tarbitt the foot, and so march to raise the country, and then towards the Passes of Forth, to meet the king, when I doubt not we would be numerous. I have done all I can, to make them believe the king will land

* This letter was printed by Macpherson from the Nairne papers.

† Sir George Mackenzie.

‡ Sir James Montgomery.

§ Dr Gilbert Burnet, the historian.

Whilst Dundee was thus maturing his plans, preparatory to another campaign, Mackay was urging the privy council to supply him with a sufficient force, for carrying into effect his favourite plan of erecting a strong fortification at Inverlochy, a circumstance which leads to the supposition, that "the General," a term by which Mackay distinguishes himself in his memoirs, had not taken the bait which had been prepared for him by his artful rival, for it is improbable, had Mackay believed the story invented by Dundee, that he would have insisted on carrying such a large force as four thousand men, the number he required, into Lochaber, so very remote from the scene of the threatened invasion.

Having collected his forces, Mackay made the necessary preparations for his departure, but he was detained nearly a fortnight in Edinburgh, beyond the time he had fixed for his march, by the delays of the government, in furnishing meal for his troops, and horses for transporting it. In the meantime he was informed by Lord Murray, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, that Stewart of Ballechen, his father's chamberlain, and other gentlemen of the county of Angus, had taken possession of the castle of Blair Athole, belonging to the Marquis, and were fortifying it for behoof of king James. On receiving this intelligence, Mackay requested an interview with Lord Murray, in presence of the Duke of Hamilton, his father-in-law, at which the young nobleman declared that from what he knew of the feelings of the men of Athole, he had no hopes of inducing them to join the government forces against Dundee, but he offered to go immediately to Athole, and do every thing in his power to obtain possession of the castle of Blair, before Dundee should arrive, as he did not believe that Ballechen and his father's tenants would refuse him admission to his father's house, and he also engaged to collect all his father's vassals together, so as to prevent them from joining Dundee. As Lord Murray's wife was known to be very zealous for the presbyterian interest, and as his lordship and the

altogether in the west, on purpose to draw their troops from the north, that we may the easier raise the country, if the landing be here. I have said so, and written it to everybody; and particularly I sent some proclamations to my Lady Errol, and wrote her to that purpose, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh, and my lady taken prisoner. I believe it has taken the effect designed; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am just now informed, M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverness, by Murray, towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet; but it is thought he will take the horse and dragoons except a few, and most of the standing forces, when, if he do, it will be a rare occasion for landing here, and for raising the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the king's landing. . . . The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almost forgot to tell you, that P— O—, as they say, has written to his Scotch Council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harassed following me through the hills; but orders them to draw to the west, where he says a great army is to land; and, at the same time, gives them accounts, that eight sail of men-of-war is coming from Brest, with 15,000 men on board. . . . If there come any party this way, I beg you send us ammunition, and three or four thousand arms of different sorts, some horse, some foot. I have just now received a confirmation of Mackay's going south; and that he takes with him all the horse and dragoons, and all the standing foot; by which I conclude, certainly they are preparing against the landing in the west."

Marquis his father, who was secretly hostile to the government, were at variance, Mackay gave a ready assent to the proposal, and pressed his Lordship eagerly to depart for Athole without loss of time, informing him that all he required from him, was to prevent the Athole-men from joining Dundee.*

Lord Murray accordingly proceeded to Athole, where he arrived about the beginning of July, and lost no time in summoning his father's vassals to meet him. About twelve hundred of them assembled, but no entreaties could induce them to declare in favour of the government, nor could a distinct pledge be obtained from them to observe a neutrality during the impending contest. His lordship was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made to Stewart of Ballechen, for delivery of Blair castle, who told him in answer that he held the castle for behoof of King James, by order of his lieutenant-general. The failure of Lord Murray's mission could certainly occasion no disappointment, as it was not to be imagined that a body of men who had all along been distinguished for their attachment to the exiled family, were, contrary to the understood wish of their chief, and contrary to the example set them by his steward, at the call of a young man, who by marriage, and the disagreement with his father, may be supposed to have made himself obnoxious to the men of Athole, all at once to abandon long cherished ideas and to arm in support of a cause in which they felt no interest.

About the period of Lord Murray's arrival in Athole, intelligence was brought to Dundee that a body of five hundred Irish troops, under an officer of the name of Cannan, had reached Mull. The viscount immediately proceeded to Inverlochy to give orders respecting their landing, but, although they all reached the mainland in perfect safety, the ships which carried their provisions being unnecessarily detained at Mull, were all captured by some English frigates which were cruising amongst the western islands. The loss of their stores was a serious evil, and embittered the disappointment felt by Dundee and the chiefs, to find that instead of an efficient force of five or six thousand men, as they had been led to expect, not more than a tenth part had been sent, and even this paltry force was neither properly disciplined, nor sufficiently armed; so that, according to Balearras, their arrival did "more harm than good." Such also was the opinion of Mackay at the time, as expressed in a letter to Lord Melville.†

Having given the necessary orders for bringing up the Irish troops, Dundee returned to Strowan, where he had fixed his head quarters. Here he received a letter which had arrived during his absence at Inverlochy, from Lord Strathnaver, eldest son of the earl of Sutherland, couched in very friendly terms, and advising him to follow the example of the duke of Gordon, as the course he was following, if persisted in, would lead inevitably to his ruin. But Dundee was not the man who would allow

* Mackay's Memoirs.

† No. 11. of Appendix to Mackay's Memoirs, p. 245 of the printed copy.

his personal interest to interfere with the allegiance, which he considered he owed to his exiled sovereign, and while in his answer he expressed a deep sense of the obligation he lay under to his lordship for his advice and offers of service, which he imputed to his lordship's "sincere goodness and concern" for him and his family, he assured him that he (Dundee) had no less concern for him, and that he had been even thinking of making a similar proposal to him, but delayed doing so till his lordship should see things in a clearer point of view. *

* "For the VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

"My Lord,—The concern that many equally interested in us both,* has for your lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regret in me, to see that the courses you take tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot, therefore, but wish, that you would follow the duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course; neither shall your friends, who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family; and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than

My Lord, &c.

Inverness, 3d. July, 1689.

STRATHNAVER."

DUNDEE'S ANSWER.

"For LORD STRATHNAVER.

Stroan, 15th July, 1689.

"My Lord,

Your lordship's, dated the 3d. I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochic, to give orders anent the forces, arms and ammunition sent from Irland. My lord, I am extremely sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine, and in return, I assure your lordship I have no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you; but delayed it till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your lordship should be so far abused as to think that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government, these men have framed to themselves. They made you, I doubt not, believe that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can assure you it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Channel; in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came alongst, they fell on the two frigates, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west, whom I am sorry for, very soon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid among your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge, if I, you, or your family, or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge frankly, I am no less obliged to your lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance in a time when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your lordship or family in any time you think convenient, you may freely employ me, for, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your weyl, as becomes,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE."

* Lord Strathnaver was married to Helen, second daughter of William Lord Cochrane, and sister to Lady Dundee.

At Strowan, Dundee was made acquainted by Stewart of Ballechen, with Lord Murray's proceedings, and with a demand made by his lordship for possession of Blair castle, a demand to which Ballechen had given the most decided refusal. The possession of this place was of vast importance to Dundee, as it commanded the entrance into the southern highlands, and lay in the line of Mackay's intended route to Inverlochy. To reward his fidelity, and to counteract Lord Murray's influence in Athole, Dundee sent a commission to Ballechen, appointing him colonel of the Athole-men. The appointment, however, would probably have been conferred on Lord Murray, to whom Dundee had, on the nineteenth of July, two days before the date of Ballechen's commission, despatched a letter, stating the happiness which he felt on hearing that his lordship had appointed a rendezvous of the Athole-men at Blair, and expressing a hope that he would join the viscount with his men; but, instead of answering this letter, his lordship sent it to Lord Melville, the secretary of state for Scotland. Such also was the fate of other letters, which Dundee sent to Lord Murray. Along with the last, which was written on the twenty-fifth of July, Dundee despatched Major Graham and Captain Ramsay for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview with Lord Murray; but he declined to see them, or to give any answer to Dundee's communication. It appears that up to this time the Athole-men, who had, at the call of the son of their chief, assembled to the number of about twelve hundred, were ignorant of Lord Murray's intentions; but when he refused to receive Dundee's officers, they at once began to suspect his designs, and demanded with one voice an immediate explanation, intimating at same time, that if he would join Dundee they would follow him to a man; but if on the contrary he refused, they would all leave him. His lordship remonstrated with them, and even threatened them with his vengeance if they abandoned him; but regardless of his threats, they left him to join Dundee, having previously filled their bonnets with water from the rivulet of Banovy, in the neighbourhood of Blair castle, and pledged themselves to King James by drinking his health.*

In the mean time the government general was busily engaged at Edinburgh, making the necessary preparations for his march. He appointed his troops to rendezvous at Perth, and after completing his arrangements at Edinburgh, he went to Stirling to inspect the castle, so as to make himself acquainted with its means of defence. In a letter† dated twenty-fourth July, written to Lord Melville on his arrival at Stirling, Mackay alludes to the distracted state of the government in Scotland, and the difficulty he would experience in executing the commission which the king had given him, to keep the kingdom peaceable, in consequence of the divisions which existed even between the adherents of the government. The removal from office of Stair the president of the court of

* Balcarras, p. 68. Stewart's Sketches, vol. i. p. 62.

† No. 15. of Appendix to Mackay's Memoirs, p. 216.

session, and his son, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the ultra whig party, by their attempts to stretch the royal prerogative too far, appears to have been considered by that party of more importance than keeping Dundee in check, and so high did the spirit of party run, that the earl of Annandale and Lord Ross who had just been appointed colonels of two newly raised regiments of horse, refused to accompany their regiments, and offered to resign their commissions rather than quit the parliament. This state of matters was highly favourable to James's interests in Scotland, and if Melfort had followed Dundee's advice, by sending over a large force from Ireland, the cause of his royal master might have triumphed, but with that fatality which attended that unfortunate monarch in all his undertakings, he allowed the golden opportunity which was here offered him, of recovering his crown, to slip away.

From Stirling Mackay proceeded to Perth, after ordering the troops of horse and dragoons of the expedition to follow him. On arriving at Perth, a letter was shown him from Lord Murray, from which he learned, that Dundee, who had been solicited by Stewart of Ballechen to hasten into Athole, was already marching through Badenoch, and so anxious was he to anticipate Mackay's arrival in Athole, that he had left behind him several chiefs and their men, whose junction he daily expected. Lord Murray added, that if Mackay did not hasten his march so as to reach Athole before Dundee, that he would not undertake to prevent his men from joining the viscount. As Mackay informs us, that before leaving Edinburgh he had begun "already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in gross," and as on reaching Stirling, the idea that he would be straitened for provisions haunted his mind; this information was assuredly by no means calculated to relieve these fearful apprehensions; but he had gone too far to retrace his steps with honour, and he therefore resolved to proceed immediately on his march into Athole, for the following reasons as stated by himself, although four troops of dragoons and two of horse had not yet joined him.

In the first place, by stopping at Perth, Mackay considered, from the information sent by Lord Murray, that the Athole-men, "making 1500, as reputed men for arms as any of the kingdom," would certainly join Dundee. 2dly. He considered that by remaining at Perth, he would be allowing time to Dundee to get up his expected reinforcements, from the isles and other distant places, and to collect forces in Badenoch, Monteith and Mar. 3dly. By permitting Dundee to establish himself in Athole, he would have an opportunity of raising some horse, in which he was very deficient, in the adjoining lowlands, particularly in Angus, where there were many gentlemen friendly disposed to him. But 4thly, and apart from these considerations, Mackay was afraid that as his forces were more numerous than those of Dundee, "the ill-affected of the nation" would, in the event of any apparent backwardness on the part of the government forces to meet Dundee's troops, take advantage of

the circumstance, by representing matters in a light unfavourable to the military courage of Mackay's army, and thus add to the boldness of the disaffected. And lastly, As the possession, by Mackay, of the castle of Blair, was in his opinion the only means of keeping the Athole-men, who, (from their numbers and strict attachment to the house of Stewart, were more to be dreaded than any other body of highlanders;) in awe, and preventing them from joining Dundee, he had no alternative but to allow Dundee to roam uncontrolled through the disaffected district of Athole, gathering strength at every step, or to attempt to gain the important fortress of Blair.

Such were the grounds, as stated by Mackay in his own exculpation, which made him resolve upon marching into Athole, and which, he observes, "more capable commanders might readily be deceived in." Those who make the unfortunate result of this movement the rule of their judgment, will be apt to condemn Mackay's conduct on this occasion as rash and injudicious, but when his own reasons are duly weighed, censure should be spared, or if used at all, should be but sparingly employed. There can be no doubt, that had he been as successful at Killiecrankie as he was unfortunate, he would have been applauded for the exercise of a sound discretion, and regarded as a tactician of the highest order.

It was on the twenty-sixth of July sixteen hundred and eighty nine, that Mackay began his fatal march from Perth at the head of an army of four thousand five hundred men. Of this force, notwithstanding that the four troops of dragoons and two of horse already alluded to, had not yet arrived, a fair proportion consisted of cavalry. At night Mackay encamped opposite to Dunkeld, so celebrated for the romantic grandeur of its scenery. Here, at midnight, he received an express from Lord Murray announcing the alarming intelligence, that Dundee had entered Athole, in consequence of which event he informed him that he had retreated from before the castle of Blair, which he had for some time partially blockaded; and that although he had left the strait and difficult pass of Killiecrankie between him and Dundee, he had posted a guard at the further extremity to secure a free passage to Mackay's troops through the pass which he supposed Dundee had already reached. Mackay seems to have doubted the latter part of this statement, and his suspicions were in some degree confirmed by the fact, that Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, whom he despatched with a party immediately on receipt of Murray's letter, to secure the entrance into the pass from the vale of Blair, did not see a single man on his arrival there.

Discouraging as this intelligence was, Mackay still determined to persevere in his march, and having despatched orders to Perth to hasten the arrival of the six troops of cavalry he had left behind, he put his army in motion next morning at day-break, and proceeded in the direction of the pass, the mouth of which he reached at ten o'clock in the

morning. Here he halted, and allowed his men two hours to rest and refresh themselves before they entered upon the bold and hazardous enterprise of plunging themselves into a frightful chasm, out of which they might probably never return. To support Lauder in case of attack, the general, on halting, despatched through the pass a body of two hundred men under the command of the lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Leven's regiment, whom he instructed to send him any intelligence he could obtain of Dundee's motions. A short way below the pass Mackay fell in with Lord Murray, who informed him, in answer to an interrogatory put by the general, that with the exception of two or three hundred men, who still remained with him, the whole had gone to the hills to secure their cattle, an answer which Mackay, with the open and unsuspecting generosity of a soldier, considered satisfactory, and made him, as he observes, "not so apt to judge so ill of Murray as others did."

Having received a notice from Lauder that the pass was clear, and that there was no appearance of Dundee, Mackay put his army again in motion, and entered the pass in the following marching order: The battalions of Balfour, Ramsay, and Kenmure, entered the pass first, each in succession, followed by Belhaven's troop of horse. These were again successively followed by Leven's regiment, (now the twenty-fifth,) and a battalion under the command of the general. The baggage horses, amounting to upwards of twelve hundred, came next, followed by the earl of Annandale's troop of horse, and Hastings's regiment, (now the thirteenth,) which formed the rear-guard. These last were placed behind to protect the baggage, from an apprehension that Dundee's Highlanders might make a detour round the hill to attack it, or that the country people might attempt to plunder it if not so guarded. The idea that no opposition would be offered to their passage through this terrific defile, which seemed to forbid approach, and to warn the unhappy soldier of the dangers which awaited him should he precipitate himself into its recesses, may have afforded some consolation to the feelings of Mackay's troops as they entered this den of desolation; but when they found themselves fairly within its gorge, their imaginations must have been appalled as they gazed, at every successive step, on the wild and terrific objects which encompassed them on every side. But unlike the Hessians who, in seventeen hundred and forty-five, refused even to enter the pass, from an apprehension that it was the utmost verge of the globe, they proceeded, at the command of their general, on their devious course, and finally cleared it, with the loss of a single horseman only, who, according to an Athole tradition, was shot by an intrepid adventurer, named Ian Ban Beg MacRan, who had posted himself on a hill, whence with murderous aim he fired across the rivulet of the Garry and brought down his victim. A well, called in Gælic, "Fuaran u trupar," *Anglicé*, the Horseman's well, is shown as the place where the horseman fell.

As soon as the five battalions and the troop of horse which preceded the baggage had debouched from the further extremity of the pass, they halted, by command of the general, upon a corn field, along the side of the river to await the arrival of the baggage, and of Hastings's regiment and the other troop of horse. Mackay then ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder to advance with his two hundred fusileers and a troop of horse in the direction he supposed Dundee might be expected to appear. This conjecture was too well founded, for Lauder had not advanced far when he discovered some parties of Dundee's forces between him and Blair. Being immediately apprised of this by Lauder, Mackay, after giving orders to Colonel Balfour to supply the troops with ammunition, and to put them under arms without delay, galloped off to the ground, from which Lauder had espied the enemy, to observe their motions before making choice of the field of battle. On arriving at the advanced post, Mackay observed several small parties of troops, scarcely a mile distant, marching slowly along the foot of a hill in the direction of Blair, and advancing towards him. Mackay, thereupon, sent orders to Balfour to advance immediately up to him with the foot. But these orders were no sooner despatched than he observed some bodies of Dundee's forces marching down a high hill within a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, in consequence of which movement, he immediately galloped back to his men to countermand the order he had just issued, and to put his army in order of battle.*

Dundee, who had been duly advertised of Mackay's motions, had descended from the higher district of Badenoch into Athole on the previous day, with a force of about two thousand five hundred men, of whom about one-fifth part consisted of the Irish, which had lately landed at Inverlochy under Brigadier Cannan. Some of the clans which were expected had not yet joined, as the day appointed for the general rendezvous had not then arrived; but as Dundee considered it of paramount importance to prevent Mackay from establishing himself in Athole, he did not hesitate to meet him with such an inferior force, amounting to little more than the half of that under Mackay.

On his arrival at the castle of Blair, intelligence was brought Dundee that Mackay had reached the pass of Killiecrankie, which he was preparing to enter. At a council of war, which was held in the castle, Dundee was strongly advised by the most of his officers to dispute the passage of the Pass, as they did not consider it safe, from the great numerical disparity of the two armies, to allow Mackay to enter the Blair till the arrival of the reinforcements, which might be expected to join in two or three days. Dundee, however, was of quite a different opinion, and after appealing to the feelings of the Highlanders, whose ancestors, he said, acting upon their national maxim never to attack a

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 51.

foe who could not defend himself on equal terms, would have disdained to adopt the course proposed, (and in saying so he did not, he observed, mean to insinuate that the persons he addressed had degenerated from the honour and courage of their ancestors,) he proceeded to give his reasons for rejecting the advice offered him, and which at once convinced them that he was right. One principal reason stated by Dundee for allowing Mackay to advance through the Pass unmolested, was the great advantage they would gain by engaging him on open ground before he should be joined by his English dragoons, who, from their being so formidable to the Highlanders, would, if allowed by him to come up, more than compensate any accession of force which Dundee might receive.* Another reason not less important was, that in the event of Mackay sustaining a defeat, his army would probably be ruined, as he could not retreat back through the Pass without the risk of evident destruction, whereas should the Highlanders suffer a defeat, they could easily retreat to the mountains. He added, that in anticipation of Mackay's defeat, he had already given orders to his friends in the neighbourhood, to cut off the few remaining stragglers that might attempt to escape.†

The forces which had been descried by Lauder, appear to have been a body of four hundred men under the command of Sir John Maclean, whom Dundee, on learning that the advanced guard of Mackay's army, after traversing the pass, had taken up a position near its northern extremity, had despatched from Blair castle to keep them in check. But his scouts having shortly thereafter brought him notice that the whole of Mackay's army was preparing to enter the pass, he resolved to make a detour with the main body of his army round the hill on which the castle of Lude stands, in the vicinity of the pass, and fall upon Mackay as soon as he should clear that defile. Having made himself acquainted, by inquiries among the most intelligent of the country people, with the localities in the immediate neighbourhood of the pass, and of the suitability of the ground for the operations of such a force as his, he advanced at double-quick time from Blair along the present line of road, and on arriving at the river Tilt, turned off to the left round the back of the hill, and crossed that river near its confluence with the rivulet of Ald-Chluan. This movement will account for the sudden and unexpected appearance of Dundee on the face of the high hill on Mackay's right.

Immediately above the ground on which Mackay had halted his troops is an eminence, the access to which is steep and difficult, and covered with trees and shrubs. Alarmed lest Dundee should obtain possession of this eminence, which being within a carabine shot from the place on which Mackay stood, would give him such a command of the ground as would enable him, by means of his fire, to force Mackay

* Balcarras, p. 69.

† Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. part ii. p. 56.

to cross the river in confusion; he, immediately on his return from the position occupied by his advanced guard, "made every battalion form by a Quart de Conversion to the right upon the ground where they stood,"* and then made them march each in succession before him up the hill till they reached the eminence, of which they took possession. Within a musket shot of this ground is another eminence immediately above the house of Urrard, which Dundee had reached before Mackay had completed his ascent, and on which he halted.

At this conjuncture, neither Hastings's regiment nor Annandale's troop of horse had yet come out of the pass, but Mackay, nevertheless, at once proceeded to arrange his men in fighting order on a plain between the edge of the eminence and the foot or commencement of the ascent to Dundee's position, which, from its extent, enabled him to form his men in one line along the eminence. In making his dispositions, Mackay divided every battalion into two parts, and as he meant to fight three deep, he left a small distance between each of these sub-battalions. In the centre of his line, however, he left a greater interval of space behind which he placed the two troops of horse, with the design, when the Highlanders, after the fire of the line had been spent, should approach, to draw them off by this larger interval, and flank the Highlanders on either side, as occasion should offer. Mackay assigns as his reason for placing his cavalry in his rear till the fire should be exhausted on both sides, a dread he entertained of exposing them to Dundee's horse, which consisted altogether of gentlemen, reformed officers, or such as had deserted, from Dundee's regiment when in England, and with whom it could not be supposed that these newly raised levies could cope. Hastings's regiment, which arrived after Mackay had taken up his ground, was placed on the right, and to which, for greater security, was added a detachment of firelocks from each battalion, and on the extreme left on a hillock covered with trees, Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder was posted, with his party of two hundred men, composed of the *elite* of the army. Mackay having been recognised by Dundee's men busily employed riding along his line, from battalion to battalion, giving orders, was selected by some of them for a little ball practice; but although "their popping shot," which wounded some of his men, fell around him wherever he moved, he escaped unhurt.

After his line had been fully formed, Mackay rode along the front, from the left wing, which he committed to the charge of Brigadier Balfour, to the right, and having ascertained that every thing was in readiness to receive the enemy, he addressed the battalions nearest him in a short speech. He began by showing them the unquestionable justice of the cause in which they were engaged, and in the success of which the protestant interest, not only in Britain, but throughout the world, was involved. He represented to them that the defence of that interest, as

* Memoirs, p. 51.

well as the temporal happiness of their country, which it was the object of its laws to maintain and confirm, mainly depended on the success of their enterprize, and he desired them to remember that they were bound by honour and conscience, not to betray, by a criminal faint-heartedness, the service of the master by whom they were supported. He requested them to reflect that their own personal safety was involved in the issue of that day's contest; and assured them that if they maintained their ground, and kept firmly and closely united together, their assailants would quickly flee before them for refuge to the hills—that the reason for which the Highlanders stript themselves almost naked before battle was rather to enable them to escape, than from any hopes they entertained of pursuing their foes. Should, however, his men unfortunately give way before the rabble of Highlanders whom they saw marshalled on the adjoining heights—an event which he by no means expected—there was an absolute certainty, as these naked mountaineers were more nimble-footed than they were, and as all the Athole-men were in arms, ready to take advantage of their defeat, that few or none of them would escape with their lives. In conclusion, he warned them that the only way to avoid ruin was to stand firm to their posts, and, like brave men, to fight to the last in defence of their religion and liberties, against the invaders of both, to secure which, and not the desire of a crown, was the sole reason which had induced his majesty to send them on the present service.

Whilst Mackay was thus occupied on the lower platform, his gallant rival was equally busy flying about on the eminence above, ranging his men in battle array. He was particularly distinguished amongst his officers by a favourite dun-coloured horse which he rode, and by his plated armour, which glittered in the sun-beams. Dundee, who had arrived upon the higher platform about the same time that Mackay had gained the ground he now occupied, ranged his men in one line in the following order:—On the right, he placed Sir John Maclean, with his regiment divided into two battalions. On the left, he posted the regiment of Sir Donald Macdonald, commanded by the young chief and Sir George Berkeley, and a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. In the centre were placed four battalions, consisting of the Camerons, the Macdonells of Glengary and Clanranald, and the Irish regiment, with a troop of horse under the command of Sir William Wallace, who had early that morning produced a commission, to the great displeasure of the earl of Dunfermline and other officers, appointing him colonel of a horse regiment.* It may be observed, that neither Mackay nor Dundee placed any body of reserve behind their lines.

The great extent of Mackay's line, which reached considerably beyond Dundee's wings, compelled the latter, to prevent the danger of being outflanked, to enlarge the intervals between his battalions. A gene-

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. I. p. 369.

ral movement from right to left accordingly took place along Dundee's line. Before Dundee's left halted, Mackay, imagining that the object of the movement in that quarter was to get between him and the pass, for the purpose of cutting off all communication between him and Perth, made his line make a corresponding movement to his right, but on observing that Dundee's left wing halted, Mackay brought his line to a stand. These different movements necessarily occupied a considerable time, and both armies being now finally arranged, they gazed upon each other with great composure for the space of two complete hours.

During this interval of care and anxious suspense, the feelings of both parties—their hopes or their fears would probably be tinged by a deeper hue of confidence or despondency as they reflected on the events of former days. Though more than forty years had elapsed since the brilliant achievements of Montrose, the Highlanders, naturally brave, had lost none of their military ardour, and the descendants of the heroes of Tippermuir, Aldearn and Kilsyth, who now stood embattled on the upper plain, whence, with a scowl of scorn and defiance, they looked down upon the *Sassenachs* below, calling to mind the recital of the heroic deeds of their fathers, to which they had listened with wonder and enthusiasm in their childhood, would burn for the moment when, at the command of their chiefs, they should measure their broad swords with the bayonets of their Lowland foes. On the other hand, Mackay's men had no such recollections to inspire confidence or to cheer them in their perilous enterprise, and when they beheld the Highland host ready at a moment's notice to burst like a mountain torrent upon their devoted heads, and called to mind the tales they had heard of the warlike prowess of the Highlanders, they could not but recoil at the idea of encountering, in mortal and deadly strife, such determined antagonists. There were, it is true, many men in Mackay's army to whom the dangers of the battle field were familiar, and in whose minds such reflections would doubtless find no place, but the great majority of his troops consisted of newly raised levies, who had never before seen the face of an enemy.

Mackay himself, though an old and experienced officer, and a brave man, was not without his misgivings; and as the evening advanced without any appearance on the part of Dundee to commence the action, his uneasiness increased. Nor were his apprehensions likely to be allayed by the reply made by the second son of Lochiel, who held a commission in his own regiment of Scots fusileers, in answer to a question put to him by Mackay. "Here is your father with his wild savages," said Mackay to the young man, on seeing the standard of the Camerons, putting on at the same moment an air of confidence, "how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," answered the son of the chief, "what I would like, but I recommend to you to be prepared; or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you

would like.”* The apparent irresolution of the Highlanders to begin the battle was considered by Mackay as intentional, and he supposed that their design was to wait till nightfall, when, by descending suddenly from their position, and setting up a loud shout, according to their usual custom, they expected to frighten his men, unaccustomed to an enemy, and put them in disorder. As Mackay could not, without the utmost danger, advance up the hill and commence the action, and as the risk was equally great should he attempt to retreat down the hill and cross the river, he resolved, at all hazards, to remain in his position, “though with impatience,” as he observes, till Dundee should either attack him or retire, which he had better opportunities of doing than Mackay had. To provoke the Highlanders, and to induce them to engage, he ordered three small leather field pieces to be discharged, but they proved of little use, and the carriages being much too high, for the greater convenience of carriage, broke after the third firing.

Towards the close of the evening, some of Dundee’s sharpshooters, who had kept up, during the day, an occasional fire in the direction in which they observed Mackay to move, by which they had wounded some of his men, as already stated, took possession of some houses upon the ascent which lay between the two armies, for the purpose of directing their aim with surer effect. But they were immediately dislodged by a party of musketeers despatched by Mackay’s brother, who commanded the general’s regiment, and chased back to their main body with some loss. This skirmish Mackay supposed would soon draw on a general engagement, and his expectations were accordingly speedily realized.

It was within half an hour of sunset, and the moment was at hand, when, at the word of command, the Highlanders and their allies were to march down the hill, and, with sword in hand, fall upon the trembling and devoted host below, whom, like the eagle viewing his destined prey from his lofty eyry, they had so long surveyed. Having determined, as much to please his men as to gratify his own inclination, to lead the charge in person, at the head of the horse, Dundee exchanged his red coat, which he had worn during the day, and by which he had been recognised by Mackay’s troops, for another of a darker colour, to conceal his rank, and thereby avoid the risk of being singled out by the enemy—a precaution justifiable by the rules of sound prudence, and quite consistent with the highest moral courage. That nothing might be wanting on his part to work up the feelings of his men to the highest pitch of heroism, he harangued them in the following enthusiastic strain :—

“ You are come hither to fight, and that in the best of causes ; for it is the battle of your king, your religion, and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion. And having therefore so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire you with an equal courage

* Stewart’s Sketches, vol. I. p. C3.

to maintain it ; for there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason, nor should there be any betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember that to-day begins the fate of your king, your religion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotsmen, and let us by this action redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen, in making which request, I ask nothing of you that I am not now ready to do myself. And if any of us shall fall upon this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying on our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conscience ; and such of us as shall live and win the battle, shall have the reward of a gracious king and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word—King James and the church of Scotland, which God long preserve ! ” *

A pause now ensued, and a death-like silence prevailed along the line, when, on a sudden, it appeared in motion, marching slowly down the hill. The Highlanders, who stript themselves to their shirts and doublets, and whose appearance resembled more a body of wild savages than a race of men, who, although they could not boast of the civilization of the inhabitants of the south, were nevertheless superior to them in many of the virtues which adorn humanity ; advanced, according to their usual practice, with their bodies bent forward, so as to present as small a surface as possible to the fire of the enemy, the upper part of their bodies being covered by their targets.

To discourage the Highlanders in their advance by keeping up a continual fire, Mackay had given instructions to his officers commanding battalions, to commence firing by platoons, at the distance of a hundred paces. This order was not attended to, as Balfour's regiment, and the half of Ramsay's, did not fire a single shot, and the other half fired very little. The Highlanders, however, met with a very brisk fire from Mackay's right, and particularly from his own battalion, in which no less than sixteen gentlemen of the Macdonells of Glengarry fell ; but, undismayed by danger, they kept steadily advancing in the face of the enemy's fire, of which they received three rounds. Having now come close up to the enemy, they halted for a moment, and having levelled and discharged their pistols, which did little execution, they set up a loud shout and rushed in upon the enemy sword in hand, before they had time to screw on their bayonets to the end of their muskets.† The shock was too impetuous to be long resisted by men who, according to their own general, “ behaved, with the exception of Hastings's and Leven's regiments, like the vilest cowards in nature.” But even had these men been brave, as they were pusillanimous, their courage would not have availed them, as their arms were insufficient to parry off the tremendous strokes of the

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 71.

† From this circumstance Mackay invented the present plan of fixing the bayonet.

axes, and the broad and double-edged swords of the Highlanders, who with a single blow, either felled their opponents to the earth or struck off a member from their bodies, and at once disabled them. While the work of death was thus going on towards the right, Dundee, at the head of the horse, made a furious charge on Mackay's own battalion, and broke through it, on which the English horse which were stationed behind, fled without firing a single shot. Dundee, thereupon, rode off to attack the enemy's cannon, but the officer who had that morning produced his commission as colonel of the horse, did not keep pace with Dundee, who, on arriving near the enemy's cannon, found himself alone. He, therefore, gave the horse a signal to advance quickly, on which the earl of Dunfermline, who then served only as a volunteer, overlooking the affront which had been put upon him, rode out of the ranks, followed by sixteen gentlemen, attacked the party who guarded the cannon and captured them.

As soon as Mackay perceived that Dundee's grand point of attack was near the centre of his line, he immediately resolved to attack the Highlanders in flank with the two troops of horse which he had placed in the rear of his line, for which purpose he ordered Lord Belhaven to proceed round the left wing with his own troop, and attack them on their right flank, and he ordered at the same time the other troop to proceed in the contrary direction, and assail them on their left. Mackay himself led round Belhaven's troop, but it had scarcely got in front of the line when it got into disorder, and instead of obeying the orders to wheel for the flank of the enemy, after some confused firing it turned upon the right wing of Lord Kenmure's battalion, which it threw into disorder, and which thereupon began to give way.

At this critical moment Mackay, who was instantly surrounded by a crowd of Highlanders, anxious to disentangle his cavalry, so as to enable him to get them formed, called aloud to them to follow him, and putting spurs to his horse galloped through the enemy, but with the exception of one servant whose horse was shot under him, not a single horseman attempted to follow their general. When he had gone sufficiently far to be out of the reach of immediate danger, he turned round to observe the state of matters, and to his infinite surprise he found that both armies had disappeared. To use his own expression, "in the twinkling of an eye in a manner," his own men as well as the enemy were out of sight, having gone down pell-mell to the river where his baggage stood. The flight of his men must have been rapid indeed, for although the left wing, which had never been attacked, had begun to flee before he rode off, the right wing and centre still kept their ground.

Mackay now stood in one of the most extraordinary predicaments in which the commander of an army was ever placed. His whole men had, as if by some supernatural cause, disappeared almost in an instant of time, and he found himself standing a solitary being on the mountain side, not knowing what to do, or whither to direct his course. Whether,

had they had the courage to follow him, the timid troop would have turned the tide of victory in his favour, may indeed be well doubted; but it is obvious that he adopted the only alternative which could render success probable. Judging from the ease with which he galloped through the Highlanders, who made way for him, he thinks that if he had had but fifty resolute horse such as Colchester's, he "had certainly," as he says, "by all human appearance recovered all," for although his whole line had begun to give way when he ordered the horse to follow him, the right of the enemy had not then moved from their ground.* While ruminating upon the "sad spectacle" which he now beheld, his mind preyed upon by the most gloomy reflections, he fortunately espied to the right, "a small heap of red coats," which he immediately galloped for, and found it to consist of a part of the earl of Leven's regiment mixed with a few stragglers from other regiments who had escaped from the swords of the Highlanders. The Earl himself, his Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, and most of the other officers of the regiment, were with this body, and were thanked by Mackay for their steadfastness, and as some confusion had taken place in their ranks, owing to the mixture of the stragglers with Leven's men, he directed the Earl and his officers to put them in order to receive the enemy in case of attack. After issuing this order, Mackay perceived a part of Hastings's regiment marching up to the ground it had occupied at the commencement of the action. Having rode up to this party, he was informed by the Colonel that he had left his ground in pursuit of the enemy, a detachment of which had attempted to outflank him, but having wheeled to the right upon them with his pikes, they abandoned the idea of attacking him, and repaired to their main body, which they observed among the baggage at the river-side.

The plunder which the baggage offered was too tempting a lure for the Highlanders, whose destructive progress it at once arrested. It was in fact solely to this thirst for spoil that Mackay and the few of his men who escaped owed their safety, for had the Highlanders continued the pursuit, it is very probable that not a single individual of Mackay's army would have been left alive to relate their sad disaster.†

As soon as Mackay had got up Hastings's battalion and joined it to that of Leven's, he despatched his nephew, Captain Mackay,—who, though he had received eight broad sword wounds on his body, was still able to ride his horse,—in quest of such of his officers as might be within his reach, about the bottom of the hill, with orders to collect as many of

* *Memoirs*, p. 57.

† In a conversation respecting the battle between General Wade and an old Highlander, who had fought at Killiecrankie, the latter is reported to have spoken lightly of Mackay as a commander, calling him a great fool, because he did not put his baggage in front of his army at Killiecrankie. Wade dissented, of course, but the old man insisted that the baggage should have been placed before the line, in which case Mackay, he observed, would have gained the battle, as the Highlanders would have first attacked the baggage, and would have thus fallen an easy prey to Mackay's army.

their men as they could and join the general; and to induce them to exert themselves in rallying their men, Captain Mackay was directed to assure them of his uncle's favour. Whether from the trepidation of the officers, or the alarm of the men, the united troops of Hastings's and Leven's regiments could not be brought into order, a circumstance which induced Mackay, during the absence of his nephew, to visit a garden behind his position, with the intention of entrenching them within its walls, and there wait for the junction of such of his stragglers as might find their way thither from the vale below; but as he could not depend upon such succours, and as, in case of attack, he saw no hope of effecting an escape if he shut himself up within the enclosure, he resolved to remain in his position till the arrival of his nephew.

At length, after nearly an hour's absence, Captain Mackay made his appearance, and reported that he had fallen in with several officers; that some of them whom he had addressed took no notice of him; and that all who had survived the battle were now scattered far beyond his reach. While receiving this afflicting intelligence Mackay descried in the twilight, a large body of men, who appeared to form themselves along the edge of a wood on Balfour's left, where Lieutenant-Colonel Lander had been posted with two hundred men. As he was not yet aware of the fate of Lauder's corps, which was among the first that fled, he supposed that the body he had observed might either be that party or another body of his men who had retired to the wood on the descent of the Highlanders, and he therefore rode off to reconnoitre them, after directing his officers to endeavour to put their men in a condition to fire one discharge, at least, if attacked. Mackay approached the party sufficiently near to discover that they were Dundee's men, and having turned his horse's head he walked slowly back, that he might not excite the apprehensions of the Highlanders. The situation of Mackay was extremely embarrassing, but he conducted himself throughout with a presence of mind which few men would have displayed under such circumstances. The ground on which Mackay stood with the wreck of his army, amounting to scarcely four hundred men, was the farthest removed of any other part of the position he had selected in the morning, from the point to which he was necessarily obliged to direct his retreat, and over the intervening space he could not but expect to fall in with parties of the Highlanders, who would fall upon him, and kill or disperse his tired followers. But he extricated himself from the difficulties which beset him, with considerable adroitness. He told his men that the only way to make the enemy respect them, and thus secure a quiet retreat, was to show no symptoms of fear, and he, therefore, earnestly admonished them to march slowly and keep firmly together, as if determined to maintain themselves against any attack. He advised them on no account to show any inclination to run, as it could not add to their personal safety, but, on the contrary, might endanger it the more, as the Highlanders, observing their terror, would certainly break in

among them, and pursue them with the greater avidity. He enforced this advice by remarking that the fewness of their numbers would be concealed from the enemy by the darkness of the night, and that their confidence might lead to a belief that they were more numerous than they were. When about to retire down the hill the party were joined by Lord Belhaven, a Lieutenant and Cornet of Annandale's troop, and four or five horsemen, who proved very serviceable as scouts during the retreat. Mackay then led his men slowly down the hill and evaded the enemy so completely that he did not meet with the least interruption in his march. He retired across the Garry without molestation, and made a short halt to ascertain whether he was pursued. Seeing no disposition on the part of the Highlanders to follow him, he began to think of the best way of retiring out of Athole. All his officers advised him to return to Perth through the pass of Killiecrankie, but he saw proper to reject this advice, and resolved to march several miles up Athole and cross over the hills to Stirling. It was represented to him, that if pursued by the Highlanders, his men could make no effectual resistance, and he himself admitted that the objection was well founded; but he still adhered to his resolution, because, as he apprehended more danger from Dundee's horse than from the Highlanders, who would be too busy securing their plunder to think of pursuing him, his risk would be less by keeping upon ground inaccessible to the operations of cavalry, than by exposing himself in the open country beyond the pass. Besides, he had no certainty that the pass was not already secured, for the purpose of cutting off his retreat, and to have entered it, if seized upon, would have been throwing himself into the jaws of instant destruction.

Giving orders, therefore, to his men to march, he proceeded to the west along the bank of the river, and had the satisfaction, when about two miles from the field of battle, to come up with a party of about one hundred and fifty fugitives almost without arms, under the command of Colonel Ramsay, who was quite at a loss what direction to take. Mackay then continued his march along the edge of a rivulet which falls into the Garry, till he came to some little houses. Here he obtained from one of the inhabitants, information as to the route he meant to follow, and having made himself acquainted, as far as he could, by an examination of his map, with the situation of the country through which he had to pass, he crossed the stream and proceeded across the hills towards Weem castle, the seat of the chief of the clan Menzies, whose son had been in the action with a company of a hundred Highlanders he had raised for the service of the government. He reached the castle before morning after a most fatiguing journey, where he obtained some sleep and refreshment, of which he stood greatly in need, having since his departure before Dunkeld, on the morning preceding, marched about forty miles through a track of country, the greater part of which was beset with quagmires and precipices.

The news of Mackay's defeat had preceded his retreat; and on his march during the following day, he found the country through which he passed in an uproar, and every person arming in favour of King James. The people of Strathtay alarmed at the approach of Mackay's men, whom they took to be Highlanders, and considering their houses and cattle in danger, set up a dreadful shout, which so frightened Mackay's men that they began to flee back to the hills under an apprehension that the Highlanders were at hand. Mackay and some of his officers on horseback, by presenting their pistols and threatening the fugitives, succeeded in rallying them, but owing to the thickness of the morning more than a hundred escaped, all of whom were killed, stripped, or taken prisoners by the country people.* Mackay continued his march with very little halting all that day, being Sunday the twenty-eighth of July, and arrived late at night at Drummond castle in which he had a garrison. Next day he reached Stirling with about four hundred men.

On the morning after the battle—for night had thrown its sable curtain over the horrors of the scene, before the extent of the carnage could be ascertained—the field of battle and the ground between it and the river, extending as far as the pass, presented an appalling spectacle in the vast numbers of the dead which strewed the field, and whose mutilated bodies attested the savage and unrelenting ferocity with which Mackay's men had been hewn down by the Highlanders. Here might be seen a skull which had been struck off above the ears by a stroke from a broad-sword—there a head lying near the trunk from which it had been severed—here an arm or a limb—there a corpse laid open from the head to the brisket; while interspersed among these lifeless trunks, *dejectaque membra*, were to be seen broken pikes, small-swords and muskets, which had been snapt asunder by the athletic blows of the Lochaber axe and broad-sword.†

If the importance of a victory is to be reckoned by the comparative numbers of the slain, and the brilliant achievements of the victors, the battle of Killiecrankie may well stand high in the list of military exploits. Considering the shortness of the combat, the loss on the part of Mackay was prodigious. No less than two thousand of his men fell under the swords and axes of Dundee's Highlanders, and about five hun-

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 61.

† In allusion to this battle, the author of the memoirs of Viscount Dundee, says, "Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy with sword, target, and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, that were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breast; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and smallswords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy."

dred were made prisoners. Among the slain were Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, brother of the General, Brigadier Balfour, and several other officers. Highland tradition reports that Balfour was cut down by the Reverend Robert Stewart, a catholic clergyman, nephew to Stewart of Ballechen, for having contemptuously refused to receive quarter when offered him by the priest. The same tradition relates that Stewart, who was a powerful muscular man, followed the enemy in their flight down to the river, and towards the pass, wielding a tremendous broad sword, with which he cut down numbers of the fugitives, and so much did he exert himself in the use of his fatal weapon, that, at the conclusion of the carnage, his hand had swollen to such an extent, that it could only be extricated from the basket-hilt of his sword, by cutting away the network.

But as the importance of a victory, however splendid in itself, or distinguished by acts of individual prowess, can only be appreciated by its results, the battle of Killiecrankie, instead of being advantageous to the cause of King James, was, by the death of the brave Dundee, the precursor of its ruin. After he had charged at the head of his horse, and driven the enemy from their cannon, he was about to proceed up the hill to bring down Sir Donald Macdonald's regiment, which appeared rather tardy in its motions, when he received a musket shot in his right side, immediately below his armour. He attempted to ride a little, but was unable, and fell from his horse mortally wounded, and almost immediately expired.* The loss on the side of Dundee was never pro-

* The letter, of which a copy is subjoined, and alleged to have been written by Dundee to King James, after he received his wound, is said to have been discovered among the Nairn papers, and is printed by Macpherson among his original papers, vol. i., p. 372. But the authenticity of this letter may well be doubted.

1st. No contemporary writer mentions its existence, not even the king himself, who, in a letter to Stewart of Ballechen, dated 30th Nov., 1689, (Stewart's sketches, vol. i., p. 61,) alludes to Dundee as having fallen at the "*entrance into action*."

2d. It is proved that Dundee died upon the field of battle immediately after receiving his wound. King James says, that "when crossing over the plaine to give some orders on the left where the enemy made the most opposition, he was most unfortunately *killed* by a random shot." Clarke's James II, vol. ii., p. 352. See also Father Hay's Collections, vol. ii., p. 55, MS., Advocates' Library. Crawford's Peerage, published in 1716, and Balcarra's Memoirs. Depositions of the witnesses who were examined before the Parliament in the process of treason, appendix, pp. 56, 57, 59, to acts of Parliament, 1690.

These authorities, which are referred to by George Smythe of Methven, Esquire, in a note on the supposititious letter of Dundee, in a collection of Dundee's letters, printed by him as his contribution to the Bannatyne club, are supported by the following MS. note, communicated to that gentleman by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharp, Esquire, written on a copy of Balcarra's memoirs, in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, upon the passage of Balcarra relative to a bundle of papers which was found lying near Dundee on the field, which, Balcarra says, those who stripped him thought of so little concern, that they left them behind.

"N.B.—I spoke with some that were at that fight, and saw the Viscount of Dundee's corps naked upon the ground, and was of the number that wrapt it in a pladd, and brought it off the field to the Blair of Athole; they said they saw no papers, nor was there any such rumour among them; so that I suspect that this passage was not in Balcarra's ori-

perly ascertained, nor can any estimate be formed of it. According to Mackay, the Highlanders lost six times the number of men that fell on his side in the fire from his line ; but, as he says, that the fire of the Highlanders did “little or no execution,” the loss on the part of the latter could not consequently be very great. The brunt of Mackay’s fire fell upon the Macdonells of Glengarry, with whom the action commenced, and who, of course, were the principal sufferers ; but it seems probable, that in the *melée* which followed, and in the chace to the river, the loss of the Highlanders from the irresistible impetuosity of their attack, and the feebleness of their opponents, would be trifling.

Among the slain, Alister Dhu (black Alexander) the chief of Glengarry, who, at the head of his battalion, mowed down two men at every stroke, with his ponderous two-handed sword, had to lament the loss of a brother, several other relatives, and still nearer and dearer to him, of his son, Donald, surnamed Gorm, from the blueness of his eyes. This youth, who had exhibited early proofs of bravery worthy of his name, and the race whence he sprung, killed, it is said, eighteen of the enemy with his own hand. No less than five cousins of Sir Donald Macdonald of the isles fell together, with the tutor of Macdonald of Largo, and his sons. Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, and the brave laird of Pitcur, “who, like a moving castle in the shape of men, threw fire and sword on all sides,”* were also numbered with the dead on this eventful day.†

ginall narrative, but interpolated by the first gentleman that brought it from France, who, they said, was Cockburn of Ormiston, Justice-Clerk at the time.”

The alleged letter from DUNDEE to the KING is as follows :—

“ Sir,

“ It hath pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command it ; but of 5,000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there have not escaped 1,200. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and enemy’s baggage, which I gave to the soldiers ; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to what I ever saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies ; and this M’Kay’s old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular ; but take leave to assure your Majesty the kingdom is generally disposed to your service, and impatiently wait for your coming ; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurance for it, except the notorious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God’s sake, assist us, though it be with such another detachment as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons ; and you will crown our beginning with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die,

“ I am entirely yours,

“ DUNDEE.

* *Memoirs of Dundee.*

† “ In this battle Lochiel was attended by the son of his foster-brother. This faithful

In the Viscount Dundee, king James lost the only man in Scotland possessed of all the qualifications necessary for conducting to a successful issue the great and important charge which had been committed to him by his sovereign. Educated in the strictest principles of toryism, he could never divest his mind of the abstract ideas of passive obedience and hereditary right, and to him, therefore, any attempt to resist the authority of the sovereign, no matter how far abused, appeared highly treasonable. Hence the unrelenting perseverance with which he hunted down the field conventicles, which made him the terror of the unfortunate Whigs, and earned for him the unfortunate designation of the "Bloody Clavers." Though a thorough-paced, and, in some degree, a bigotted Protestant Episcopalian, the heresy of the successor of Charles II. as the religion of James must have appeared to him, in no respect altered his ideas of implicit fidelity to the sovereign, nor did his views undergo any change when the arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings of James seemed to the leading men of the nation to have solved the great political problem, when resistance should commence and obedience end. In his eyes, therefore, the revolution which drove the unfortunate James from his throne, was a great national sin, which could only be atoned for by restoring to him his crown, an object, in the accomplishment of which, he conceived all good men were bound to lend a helping hand. These ideas ingrafted upon a temperament peculiarly sanguine, made him an enthusiast in favour of hereditary right, and his appointment by the fallen monarch as the chosen one by whose instrumentality his restoration was to be effected, imparted a charm to his enthusiasm which dispelled every difficulty which appeared to obstruct the grand object of his ambition and his hopes. With an inflexibility of purpose, which no temptation could overcome, he steadily pursued the course which the duty he conceived he owed to his sovereign and the natural inclination of his own mind directed him to follow. But Dundee had not merely the will, but what was of no less importance, the ability, had he lived, to have executed the commission entrusted to him. While as a military commander he had few equals, he stood unrivalled among his cotemporaries in the art of gaining the affections of his troops, and communicating to them a full measure of the spirit which animated himself. His death, therefore, was a fatal blow to James's prospects, and with him the cause of the

adherent followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, or cover him from the shot of the enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and turning round to look what had become of him, saw him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow. He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Lechiel, that, seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprang behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death. "This is a species of duty not often practised, perhaps, by an aid-de-camp of the present day."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

Stuarts may be said to have perished. Dundee and his friend Piteur were interred in the church of Blair of Athole.*

* Dr Pitcairn's classical and elegant tribute to the memory of Dundee is well worthy of insertion.

Ultime Scotorum, potuit, quo sospite sole,
 Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ :
 Te moriente, novos acce it Scotia cives
 Accepitque novos, te moriente, Deos.
 Illa nequit superesse tibi, tu non potes illi,
 Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale :
 Tuque vale, gentis prisce, fortissime ductor,
 Ultime Scotorum, æ ultime Græmæ, vale.

Thus translated by Dryden,

Oh, last and best of Scots ! who didst maintain
 Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign ;
 New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
 New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
 Scotland and thou did each in other live ;
 Nor would'st thou her, nor could she thee survive.
 Farewell, who dying didst support the state,
 And couldst not fall but with thy country's fate !

CHAPTER VIII.

Ferment in Edinburgh—Forces ordered to the west—Concentration of troops at Stirling—Advance of Mackay to Perth, who cuts off a party of Athole-men—March of Cannan to the north, followed by Mackay, who enters Aberdeen—Marches to Strathbogie—Cannan holds a council of war—Return of Cannan to the south—Skirmish at Brechin—Defeat of the Highlanders at Dunkeld by the Cameronians—Capture of the Castles of Blair and Finlarig by Mackay's forces—Plot to restore King James discovered—Arrival of Major-General Buchan from Ireland, who holds a council of war—Marches to the north—Skirmish at Cromdale—March of Mackay to Inverlochy—Erection of Fort-William—Movements of Buchan and Cannan in the Lowlands—A part of the Farquharsons cut off by Colonel Cunningham—Return of Mackay to the north—Arrives at Inverness—Retreat of Buchan—The earl of Seaforth imprisoned—Cessation of hostilities—Departure of Dundee's officers for France.

THE news of Mackay's defeat reached Edinburgh on Sunday the twenty-eighth of July, the day after the battle, and threw the partizans of the government, who were there assembled, into the greatest consternation. In the absence of official details, the most gloomy accounts were given by a few terrified stragglers who arrived in the capital, and who believed that, with the exception of themselves, the whole of Mackay's army had been destroyed. In the state of disorder and confusion which prevailed, the duke of Hamilton, the Commissioner to the revolution parliament, summoned a meeting of the privy council in the evening, at which orders were issued to raise all the fencible men in the west, and to concentrate all the forces in the south at Stirling, to which point it was supposed Dundee (of whose death they were not aware) would be rapidly hastening; and on the supposition that Mackay was either killed or made prisoner, Sir John Lanier was ordered west to take the command.

But these precautionary measures did not quiet the alarms of the members of the parliament, some of whom were for retiring immediately into England, and others into the western shires of Scotland. At their entreaty, the duke of Hamilton agreed to adjourn the parliament, on the next or following day, till October; but as such a step might tend to discourage the friends of the government, the parliament, on meeting, adjourned its sittings for two days only. A proposal was made to set at liberty all the state prisoners; but it was negatived after some discussion, and a resolution adopted to confine them still closer than they had yet been, and to prevent all communication between them and their friends. But although they were cut off from the society of their

friends, they, as Lord Balcarras, himself a prisoner, observes, had never before so many visits from their enemies, who, anticipating another order of things, made many excuses for their past conduct, protested that they had always wished well to the prisoners, and when an opportunity should occur, would give proofs of such disposition.*

During two entire days the ferment continued in the capital, and every hour added to the fears of those who had most to dread from a counter-revolution. At length, when the minds of men were wrought up to the highest pitch of terror and dismay, intelligence was received of the death of Dundee, and shortly thereafter a despatch from General Mackay to the duke of Hamilton arrived, giving an account of the battle, and of his safe retreat to Stirling. An event so unlooked for and so important as the death of the only man in whom the hopes of King James rested, and from the decision of whose character the supporters of the revolution settlement anticipated the most fearful consequences, was hailed by the duke of Hamilton and his friends with transports of joy. They had indeed good reason to rejoice, for although the battle had been disastrous to their forces, the loss which King James had sustained in the person of Dundee was irreparable.

On arriving at Stirling Mackay met Sir John Lanier, who communicated to him the orders that had been issued by the government on receiving the news of his defeat. So decisive had the battle of Killiecrankie appeared to them that they had given up all idea of maintaining a position on the north of the Forth, all the country beyond which they meant to abandon to the victorious arms of Dundee, and to confine their operations to a defence of the fords of the Forth, and the pass and bridge of Stirling. In pursuance of this design orders had been sent to Berkeley's regiment, which was quartered in the county of Aberdeen, to retire upon Dundee, and Lanier had despatched an express to his own regiment, which lay partly at Alnwick and partly at Morpeth, to hasten down to Scotland. This plan, however, was disapproved of by Mackay, and, he therefore, as he says, "resolved to alter these measures, (knowing how hard a pull we would have,) of the Scots war, if he left the north, which are absolutely the best men of that kingdom for the war, to the discretion of the enemy, where he would not only get great numbers to join him, but also take possession of towns and seize upon the public revenues, whereby they could form a fashion of government, and so have more plausible ways, not only to maintain but also to engross their party, than ever they have had."*

For these reasons Mackay determined to take the field again without delay, and to give, as he observes, "some eclat to the service, and hinder the disaffected of the shires of Perth and Angus to rise in arms against the government," he resolved to march direct to Perth with the forces which were at hand, and place a garrison there. Fortunately

* *Memoirs*, p. 62.

some of the troops which the privy council had ordered to rendezvous at Stirling were already there, and others were at hand. Preparatory to his march he sent Sir John Lanier to Edinburgh to hasten the advance of his own regiment, consisting of nine troops of horse, and also of Hayford's dragoons, consisting of eight troops, and ordered eight troops of horse, and four of dragoons, both of which had been newly levied, and Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, not above five hundred men in all, to join him at Stirling on the morning of Wednesday, the thirty-first of July. Many thousands of men in the western shires were now assembling of their own accord in consequence of Mackay's defeat; but disliking such auxiliaries, "whose pretensions (he says) appeared already exorbitant enough," and who, if employed, might think that the government could not be maintained without their assistance, he intimated that he would not require their services, and ordered them to return to their homes.

The horse and dragoons having come to Stirling as directed, were reviewed in the park in the morning by Mackay. With these he departed for Perth at two o'clock in the afternoon, giving orders to a newly raised battalion of foot, consisting of Mar and Bargeny's regiments, to follow him. He halted at a village halfway between Stirling and Perth part of the night to avoid the risk of an ambuscade, and at break of day pursued his march towards Perth. On his way he could obtain no intelligence respecting the motions of the enemy, as he found the houses mostly deserted by their inhabitants, who had taken up arms and had gone to join the standard of King James. On approaching the river Earn, however, Mackay's scouts, who, to prevent too timely notice of his approach, kept only a musket-shot in advance, were saluted with a loud "qui vive" by two horsemen. The scouts, four in number, answered this challenge by a discharge from their carabines, which brought down the two horsemen, one of whom was shot dead. The other was mortally wounded, and though he spoke a few words, was not able to answer some questions put to him for eliciting information. As Mackay conjectured from this occurrence, that the main body of the enemy was not far off, he altered his line of march, and crossing a pretty steep hill to the north, reached the field of Tippermoor, a few miles west from Perth.

Having been informed at Tippermoor, that the enemy lay encamped at Dunkeld, and that a party of their horse and foot was in Perth for the purpose of carrying off some meal which had been sent thither by the council for the use of Mackay's army, the general drew off his men to the left to throw himself between Dunkeld and Perth, and thereby cut off the party. When he had thus interposed himself he marched down upon Perth, but on coming within sight of the town he was disappointed to observe that about thirty of the enemy's horse had already crossed the Tay, and were beyond his reach. He proceeded on his march, and when within half a mile of the town he observed the foot

party, which consisted of about three hundred Athole-men, approaching. The Highlanders, who had not the most distant idea that there was a single enemy nearer than Stirling, were almost petrified with horror when they beheld such a large body of cavalry ready to pounce upon them, and for a time they stood quite motionless, not knowing what to do. Apprehensive that they might attempt to escape by a ford near the place where they stood, Mackay despatched four troops of dragoons at full gallop to prevent their passage. The whole party on the approach of the dragoons immediately fled back in the direction of the town. As Mackay had no foot to follow them into the town, he sent three troops of Colchester's horse to cut off their retreat, whilst he himself followed close with the remainder of his horse in good order; and as he had no certain information as to the strength of the enemy in the neighbourhood, he left small detachments upon the heights near the town to watch lest any considerable force of the enemy might appear. The Athole-men seeing that their retreat would be cut off, threw themselves into the Tay, whither they were followed by the horse and dragoons who cut them down in the water without mercy. Either from stupidity or obstinacy they did not call for quarter. About one hundred and twenty of the Athole-men were killed and thirty made prisoners. In this affair Mackay lost one man only, who had imprudently pursued to a distance a small party of the Highlanders.*

This unfortunate rencounter, whilst it raised the expectations of the revolutionists, threw a damp over King James's supporters, and augured ill for the success of Colonel Cannan, who had assumed the command of James's army on the death of Dundee. This officer, though a faithful adherent of his royal master, was altogether unfit for the command of such an army. He had little military experience, and was totally unacquainted with the habits, the feelings, and dispositions of the Highlanders. Had Dundee lived he would probably have carried his victorious army across the Forth, seized upon the capital and dispersed the government; but his successor did not know how to take advantage of the victory which had been obtained, and instead of marching instantly south, he merely advanced to Dunkeld, about sixteen miles from the field of the recent battle, where he remained encamped for several days, when the party he had sent to Perth was attacked and almost destroyed by the indefatigable Mackay.

At Dunkeld, Cannan was joined by the Stewarts of Appin, the Macgregors and the Athole-men under Lord James Murray, of which circumstance Mackay was informed soon after his arrival at Perth. In the meantime he took care to secure the town against attack by erecting pallisades, and sent out patrols during the night to bring notice of the enemy should they approach the town. Cannan, however, made no

* Mackay, p. 63-4.

attempt to disturb Mackay, and after passing several days at Dunkeld in inactivity, he raised his camp and proceeded northwards along the skirts of the Grampians with a force of about three thousand men. It was the intention of Mackay to have returned to Edinburgh to consult with the privy council as to the best means of speedily settling the peace of the kingdom, and to leave Mar and Bargeny's regiments and six troops of cavalry in garrison at Perth; but on hearing of Cannan's movement to the north he abandoned his intention, and after despatching orders to Sir John Lanier to proceed to Perth with all possible haste along with the horse and dragoons which were expected from England, he crossed the Tay with his whole cavalry force, consisting of nearly fifteen hundred men, leaving two battalions of foot behind, and advanced towards Cupar-Angus. At Cupar he received intelligence from some prisoners who had been taken at Killiecrankie, and who had escaped on the march north, that Cannan had marched as far as Glen Isla, about eight miles from Forfar, where he had encamped. Mackay in consequence continued his march to Forfar, where he learned that Cannan had made another movement to Clova. To prevent surprise, and as his force was weak and consisted chiefly of new levies, Mackay placed his men in the fields under arms during the night, and allowed them to repose and refresh themselves during the day, taking care however to send out some scouts in the morning and to place some sentinels upon the neighbouring heights to watch the motions of the enemy.

After passing two nights at Forfar in this manner, he received notice that Cannan had crossed the mountains and had entered Braemar. As Mackay considered that these movements of Cannan were intended by him as a *ruse* to draw him north, and that when Cannan had accomplished his object he meant immediately to recross the mountains and enter Angus, where he expected some reinforcements to join him, Mackay sent orders to Lanier to advance to Forfar, to serve as a check upon Cannan should he again enter Angus, and proceeded himself to Aberdeen, which he reached the second day, to the great joy, he says, of most of the inhabitants who were in dread of a visit from the Highlanders that very night.*

On arriving at the Braes of Mar, Cannan was joined by the Farquharsons, the Frasers, the Gordons of Strathdown and Glenlivet, and by two hundred of the Macphersons. Keppoch and young Lochiel also met him.† At Aberdeen, Mackay received an express from the master of Forbes, informing him that Cannan had taken up a very strong position upon his father's lands, having the Highlands at his back and a wood to cover him in front, and so well chosen that he could keep up a free communication with his friends in the lower parts of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Judging that Cannan's object in

* Memoirs, p. 66.

† Memoirs of Dundee.

selecting such a position was to strengthen himself in horse from the adjoining low country, of which species of force he stood in most need, Mackay, with the view of obstructing his levies, ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to leave the command of the forces at Inverness with Sir James Leslie, and to repair immediately to Strathbogie with his regiment of dragoons, with instructions, should the enemy appear in that quarter, to march farther to the left across the low country, and to send him despatches from time to time, announcing the state of matters. At the same time he sent an express to Sir John Lanier, ordering him to send Hayford's regiment of dragoons to Aberdeen to strengthen him.

After remaining a day at Aberdeen, Mackay marched up Dee-side to beat up Cannan's quarters, but learning on his march that the Highlanders had left Lord Forbes's lands and had gone north in the direction of the duke of Gordon's territory, he drew off his men next morning at break of day towards Strathbogie, for the purpose of covering Livingston's march. At Kildrummy, whither Cannan had taken his route, he was joined by three hundred horse,* a seasonable reinforcement, had Mackay ventured upon an engagement, but neither of the commanders was inclined to measure their strength with each other. Mackay having nothing but cavalry, got the start of Cannan, and reached Strathbogie before Cannan arrived at the castle of Auchindoun, where he intended to fix his head quarters. At Auchindoun, Cannan was informed that Mackay was already at the castle of Strathbogie, a distance of about six miles. He, thereupon, called a council of war to discuss the expediency of giving battle to Mackay. A preliminary question was agitated by the Highland chiefs as to the right of the Lowland officers to sit in the council, who contended that as none of these officers had any troops under their immediate command, and were wholly unacquainted with the discipline of the Highlanders and their mode of fighting, they had no right to deliberate on the subject, and were unable to form a correct judgment on the question they were called upon to discuss. The decision of this point lay with Cannan, who by the advice of the earl of Dunfermline, decided the question against the Highlanders. A judgment more unfortunate to the cause of King James could not have been pronounced, as it gave rise to jealousies and strifes among the officers, and when the question whether a battle should be hazarded was put to the vote, the clans who were for fighting Mackay immediately, found themselves in a minority.† This was followed by a resolution to return to Athole, the reason for which will be mentioned anon. As matters stood, the chances of victory on either side may be considered to have been pretty fairly balanced, but subsequent events showed that Cannan in the present instance omitted the best opportunity he was ever destined to have of gaining a victory which might have decided the fate of Scotland.

* *Memoirs of Dundee.*

† *Ibid.*

In the meantime, Mackay, who had been joined by Livingston's dragoons the evening of the day he arrived at Strathbogie, selected ground suitable for the description of force he had with him. Ever since he left Perth, his men had slept in the open fields without a tent to cover them, and they had been greatly pinched for provisions. So hurriedly had Mackay left Aberdeen, that he did not wait for some bread which had been ordered to be prepared for his men, and so uncertain was he of the route he might take, that he could give no directions for sending it after him. The want of provisions was a serious obstacle, and he found on his arrival at Strathbogie, that without a supply, for which he relied on Aberdeen, he could not proceed farther. Being apprehensive that the duke of Gordon's tenants would acquaint the enemy of the stations of his outposts, who might, should an attack upon him be contemplated during the night, attempt to elude them, he did not place his sentinels till it became dark, and thus prevented the country people from acquiring any knowledge of their positions. As he was desirous to show himself to the enemy as soon as he should be joined by Hayford's dragoons, which he daily looked for, he sent out next morning a party of a hundred horse under Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and on the following day despatched Sir George at the head of a larger party for the same purpose, but in another direction, as he had been informed that Cannan, in expectation of a second visit, had laid an ambuscade for the party. While waiting for bread for his army from Aberdeen, Mackay received intelligence that Cannan had raised his camp and was in motion towards the Dee. Although his men were almost worn out with extreme fatigue, being kept under arms every night for a considerable time, and only allowed an occasional repose by turns during the day-time, the general resolved to follow Cannan with all possible despatch.

The cause of Cannan's movement was owing to the following circumstances. The privy council wishing to obtain possession of the castles of Blair and Finlarig, had sent a letter to Mackay at Strathbogie with instructions to proceed to these places before the rainy season should set in, for the purpose of reducing and putting garrisons into them. Mackay, in answer, stated his inability to undertake such a service in the face of the formidable force which lay so near him, and that he did not conceive there was any necessity for being in such a hurry, as from the proximity of these castles to the low country, he could make himself master of them at any time if sufficiently strong. But he observed, that if the council was very bent upon the undertaking, they might direct Sir John Lanier to order some foot and Berkeley's regiment to join him from Forfar, and with these and three battalions of the Dutch regiments, which had not been at the battle of Killiecrankie, then at Perth, to execute that piece of service. Upon receiving Mackay's answer, the council ordered the earl of Angus's regiment, known by the name of the Cameronian regiment—a band of religious enthusiasts

from the west—to advance to Dunkeld, with the view, it is supposed, of supporting Lanier. Mackay was quite averse to the employment of these men, and he disapproved of the plan of posting them so near the Highlands, the effect of which, he observed, would be, that they would be instantly attacked, “because the enemy had not such prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whom they called the Cameronian regiment, whose oppression against all such as were not of their own sentiments, made them generally hated and feared in the northern counties.”* Accordingly, no sooner had they encamped at Dunkeld, than a design was formed by some of King James’s friends in Athole to cut them off, and a notice was sent to Cannan to return south with that view, in consequence of which, he raised his camp and proceeded suddenly towards the Dee, as already mentioned.

Mackay followed him in the direction of Cromar, and having ascertained, on arriving at the Dee, that Cannan had crossed the hills and entered the Mearns and Angus, he made a rapid movement down that river towards Aberdeen, as he did not consider it safe to venture his cavalry, which did not exceed twelve hundred men, among the mountains. On arriving at Aberdeen, he sent an express to Sir John Lanier announcing the advance of Cannan, and to prevent the Highlanders from making any inroads, he sent out small parties of his men to scour the neighbouring country. When Lanier was informed of Cannan’s approach, he left Forfar, where he was posted with his own and Berkeley’s regiment, for Brechin, near which town the enemy had advanced. Some skirmishing took place between the advanced posts, with loss on both sides. The Highlanders, thereupon, retired to the hills, and Lanier, who was ignorant of the object of Cannan’s march, returned to Forfar. Here he received orders from the privy council to march to the castles of Blair and Finlarig, in consequence of which he proceeded to Cupar-Angus the following day, where intelligence was brought him from Colonel Ramsay, that the Highlanders were marching upon Dunkeld, and he was informed at the same time that the Cameronian regiment, which was disadvantageously posted, would assuredly be defeated, if not immediately supported. Instead of sending any instructions to Ramsay, who required his advice, Lanier delayed forwarding any answer till he should arrive at Perth the following day, “in which interim (says Mackay), if the providence of God had not blinded Cannan, and disheartened his Highlanders from continuing their attack, the regiment had certainly been lost, for they had two full days’ time to carry them, and all their defence was but low gardens, in most places not above four feet high.”†

On Sunday morning, the eighteenth of August, the Cameronians, in expectation of an attack, began to entrench themselves within some inclosures about the marquis of Athole’s house at Dunkeld. The country people, in parties of ten and twenty, appeared during the morning on

*Memoirs, p. 69.

† Ibid.

the neighbouring hills, and about four in the afternoon a body of about three hundred men drew up on a hill to the north of Dunkeld, whence they despatched a messenger, who carried a halbert surmounted by a white cloth as a flag of truce, with a letter without any subscription, addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland, the commanding officer, of the following tenor:—"We the gentlemen assembled being informed that ye intend to burn the town, desire to know whether ye come for peace or war, and do certify you, that if ye burn any one house, we will destroy you." To which communication Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland replied as follows:—"We are faithful subjects to King William and Queen Mary, and enemies to their enemies; and if you, who send these threats, shall make any hostile appearance, we will burn all that belongs to you, and otherwise chastise you as you deserve."

On the first alarm of the Highlanders' approach to Dunkeld, Colonel Ramsay sent up some troops of horse and dragoons under Lord Cardross to assist the Cameronians in case of attack. This party arrived at Dunkeld on Tuesday morning, but the Highlanders not being yet sufficiently numerous, showed no disposition to attack the Cameronians that day. At night, Cleland received intelligence that the fiery cross had been sent round, and that a considerable gathering had taken place, and next morning the Highlanders began to appear in large parties among the hills, between whom and some detached parties of horse and foot which Cleland sent out to scour the country, some brisk skirmishing took place during the day. The Highlanders having retired, Cleland's forces returned to Dunkeld in the evening, where Lord Cardross received an order from Colonel Ramsay to return instantly to Perth, from an absurd apprehension that the cavalry could be of little use in defending the position occupied by the Cameronian regiment. When Cleland, who, according to Mackay, was "a sensible resolute man, though not much of a soldier," was informed of this extraordinary mandate, he remonstrated with Cardross in the strongest manner against complying with it, as the safety of his regiment might be involved in the result; but his lordship pleaded his instructions, which gave him no discretionary power, and he departed for Perth the same evening. Cleland's obvious course was to have followed the cavalry, but though the danger was imminent, he disdained to abandon the post which had been assigned him, and prevailed upon his men to remain and meet the enemy at all hazards.

The parties which had appeared during the day consisted entirely of Athole-men, whose numbers did not probably exceed five or six hundred; but in the evening they were joined by the whole of Cannan's force, amounting to nearly four thousand. To the great surprise and dismay of the Cameronians, this formidable body appeared at six o'clock next morning, being Wednesday the twenty-first of August, on the hills about Dunkeld formed in order of battle. The situation of the Cameronians was now critical in the extreme. They had no alter-

native but to fight or surrender, for retreat was not in their power. A capitulation would have been the obvious course, but the great abhorrence in which the Cameronians were held by the Highlanders, gave faint hopes of obtaining the usual terms of civilized warfare from the inveterate host which hung over them on the surrounding heights. They, therefore, adopted the desperate resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity, and they hoped, that by posting themselves advantageously behind the walls and enclosures adjoining the village and Dunkeld-house, they would be able to keep the Highlanders in check till some relief might arrive.

The Cameronian commander accordingly made the necessary preparations for defence. He first posted parties of his men in the cathedral and steeple, and in Dunkeld-house. The remainder of his men he disposed behind the walls of the adjoining gardens and parks, and along some ditches which he caused to be thrown up to extend his line of defence. All these arrangements were completed before seven o'clock in the morning, about which time the Highlanders appeared moving down the hills towards Dunkeld. Desirous to gain possession of the town, to dislodge the Cameronians, or to draw off their attention from the points where he meant to direct his main attack, Cannan despatched a small train of artillery down a little hill near the town, accompanied by a hundred men clad in armour, who were followed by a party of Highlanders on foot. To prevent the Cameronians from escaping by the ford across the Tay, he sent two troops of horse round the town, who took up a position betwixt the ford and the church, while two other troops were placed at the opposite end of the town. When the party arrived at the bottom of the hill, they were opposed by a small body of men whom Cleland had posted behind a stone wall, but after some smart firing, this body was obliged to give way and to retire to Dunkeld-house. Another party of the Cameronians, which had been posted at the other end of the town, was obliged also to retire. Having forced the outposts, the whole body of the Highlanders rushed furiously into the town, which they entered at four different points at once. The Cameronians, however, firmly maintained their ground within the enclosures, from which they kept up a galling and destructive fire upon the Highlanders, who in vain attempted to dislodge them. Finding their broadswords of little avail against the pikes and halberts of an enemy protected by stone walls, the Highlanders retired to the houses and the heights near the town, from which they kept up a sharp though ineffectual fire upon the Cameronians, who returned it with much better effect. The Cameronians, however, soon sustained a heavy loss in the death of Cleland, their brave commander, who, in the act of exhorting his men to stand firm to their posts, was mortally wounded by two bullets, one of which pierced his liver, and the other entered his head at the same instant of time, within an hour after the engagement commenced. Aware of his fate, he attempted to gain Dunkeld-house, lest his men,

seeing him expire, might become dispirited ; but he was unable to reach the threshold, and expired in their presence.

During three hours an incessant firing was kept up on both sides, which might have continued for several hours longer without producing any definite result, unless, indeed, the ammunition of either party had become exhausted. Probably from the dread of such a contingency, which would have been fatal to the Cameronians, Captain Munro, to whom, on the death of Cleland, the command had fallen, resolved to attempt to dislodge the Highlanders from the houses by setting the town on fire. He accordingly sent into the town several small parties of pikemen with burning faggots upon the points of their pikes to set fire to the houses in which the Highlanders were posted, and who executed their orders with such promptitude, that in a short time the whole town was in a conflagration. The scene which the town now presented, was one of the most heart-rending description. The din of war was indeed no longer heard, but a more terrific sound had succeeded, from the wild shrieks and accents of despair which issued from the dense mass of smoke and flame which enveloped the unfortunate sufferers. To add to the calamity, the pikemen had locked the doors of such of the houses as had keys standing in them, and the unhappy intruders being thus cut off from escape, perished in the flames. No less than sixteen Highlanders were, in consequence burnt to death in one house. With the exception of three houses, possessed by the Cameronians, the whole of the town was consumed.

The Highlanders finding their ammunition all spent,* and seeing that they could no longer maintain themselves among the ruins of the town, began to retire to the hills about eleven o'clock, after having sustained a loss of about three hundred men. The Cameronians, whose loss was trifling, on seeing the Highlanders depart, set up a loud shout, threw up their caps, beat their drums, and waved their colours in token of triumph, demonstrations which must have been exceedingly galling to the feelings of the Highlanders, who only four hours before had assured themselves of an easy conquest. It is stated in the Cameronian account of the battle, that an attempt was made by Cannan to induce the Highlanders to renew the attack, but they declined, for this reason, that although still ready to fight with men, they would not again encounter devils.† To show their gratitude to God for "so miraculous a victory," the Cameronians spent a considerable part of the afternoon in singing psalms of praise and thanksgiving.

The Highlanders were greatly discouraged by the repulse which they sustained at Dunkeld, and they attributed the misfortune to the incapacity of Cannan, in whom they in consequence lost confidence. Perceiving that they could no longer keep the field with any probability of success under such a commander, they retired to Blair, and after entering into a bond of association to support the cause of King James, and for mutual

* Balcarras.

† Life and Diary of Colonel Blackader.

protection, they departed for their homes, leaving Cannan and his Irish troops and the few lowland gentlemen to shift for themselves. Cannan went to Mull and resided with the chief of Maclean.*

* "We, Lord James Murray, Patrick Stewart of Ballechan, Sir John M'Lean, Sir Donald M'Donald, Sir Ewen Cameron, Glengarie, Benbecula, Sir Alexander MacLean, Appin, Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe, Strowan, Calochele, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor, Bara, Large, M'Naughten, do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, for his Majesty's service and our own safeties, to meet at the day of September next, and bring along with us fencible men. That is to say, Lord James Murray and Ballechan Sir John M'Lean 200, Sir Donald M'Donald 200, Sir Ewen Cameron 200, Glengarie 200, Benbecula 200, Sir Alexander M'Lean 100, Appin 100, Enveray 100, Keppoch 100, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor 100, Calochele 50, Strowan 60, Bara 50, Glencoe 50, M'Naughten 50, Large 50; but in case any of the rebels shall assault or attack any of the above-named persons betwixt the date hereof and the said day of rendezvous, we do all solemnly promise to assist one another to the utmost of our power, as witness these presents, signed by us at the castle of Blair, the 24th of August, 1689 years.—Al. Robertson, D. McNeil, Alex. M'Donald, Do. M'Gregor, Alex. M'Donell, D. M'Donald, D. M'D. of Benbecula, Al. M'Donald, Tho. Farq'rson, Jo. M'Leane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, Al. Stuart."—*Records of Parliament*.

Seven days before the date of this bond, these associates, and other friends, sent the following characteristic letter to Mackay, in answer to a friendly invitation from him to lay down their arms:—

"Birse, 17th August, 1689.

"Sir,

"We received your letter from Strathbogy, and we saw that you wrote to Brigadier Cannan from St Johnstoun, to which we gave a civil return, for by telling that you support yourselves by fictions and stories (a thing known all the world over), is no railing. The Christian means (as you say in your last) you make use of to advance the good cause by, is evident to all the world, and the argument you use to move us to address your government, is consequential to the whole; for instead of telling us what good Christians, men of honour, good subjects, and good neighbours, ought to do, you tell us in both your letters, that his Majesty has hot wars in Ireland, and cannot in haste come to us, which, though it were as true as we know it is not, is only an argument from safety and interest. And that you may know the sentiments of men of honour, we declare to you and all the world, we scorn your usurper, and the indemnities of his government; and to save you farther trouble by your frequent invitations, we assure you that we are satisfied our king will take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels; and although he should send no assistance to us at all, we will die with our swords in our hands before we fail in our loyalty and sworn allegiance to our sovereign. Judge, then, what effect Duke Hamilton's letter has upon us; but you have got an honourable father for this story from Ireland, and although we can better tell you how matters go in Ireland, and that we pity those on whom such stories have influence, yet we have no orders to offer conditions to any rebels; we allow them and his grace to believe on and take your measures by your success, till his Majesty's farther orders. Sir, We thank you for the good meaning of your invitation, (though we are confident you had no hope of success.) And we will shortly endeavour to give you a requital—and those of us who live in islands have already seen and defied the Prince of Orange his frigates. We are, Sir, your affectionate and humble servants. Jo. MacLeane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, C. M'Kenzie, D. Mackdonald, John Grant of Balnadaloch, Pa. Steuart, J. M'Nachtane, Alexr. M'Donald, A. M'Nachtan, Jo. Cameron, Tho. Farq'rson, H. M'Lean of Lochbuye, Alexr. M'Donell, D. M'D. of Benbecula, R. MacNeill of Bara, D. M'Neill, Ra. M'Donald, J. M'Donald, Alexr. MacLaine. We have returned your letter from Duke Hamilton, because you have more use for it than we."—*Parliamentary Records*.

In the meantime Mackay left Aberdeen for the purpose of joining Lanier, leaving behind him Sir Thomas Livingston, with his regiment and nine troops of cavalry, to keep the adjoining northern counties in awe. At Brechin he learnt that Lanier had received an order from the privy council to march into Athole, in consequence of which information he sent an express to him to delay his march till he should join him, a junction which he effected at Perth on the twenty-sixth of August. He thereafter left Perth, with the greater part of the forces which he found there assembled, and took the route to Blair. It was clearly the interest of James's party to have burned the castle of Blair, so as to prevent Mackay from placing a garrison in it to overawe the neighbouring country; but if such was the intention of the Highlanders, they were deterred from putting it in execution by a message from Mackay, who threatened, in the event of the castle being burnt, to raze every house in Athole to the ground, and to burn and destroy all the corn in that country. Mackay remained ten days at the castle of Blair, during which time many of the Athole people took advantage of an indemnity which he offered them, and delivered up their arms. Having placed a garrison of five hundred men in the castle, and given orders to raise a pallisade and breast-work round it, he was forced to return to Perth in consequence of continual rains, which made him also forego a resolution he had entertained of marching to the head of Loch Tay, and, placing a garrison in the castle of Finlarig, belonging to the earl of Breadalbane, who, according to him, was "one of the chiefest and cunningest fomenters of the trouble of that kingdom (Scotland), not for love of King James, but to make himself necessary to the government."* The subsequent conduct of this nobleman fully corroborated this opinion. After the rains had subsided, a detachment of two hundred men under Lord Cardross, took possession of Finlarig castle, notwithstanding the proprietor had, shortly before, taken the oaths to the government, and found bail for his allegiance.

While the death of Dundee seemed to give stability to the government in Scotland on the one hand, its safety appeared to be endangered on the other, by the jealousies and dissensions which agitated the parliament. Among the persons who had been instrumental in bringing about the revolution, there were some who, although they pretended a great zeal for religion, were impelled by no other motive than personal interest, and who, seeing that their expectations were not to be realized, and that all the offices of trust were monopolized by a few favourites about court, became factious and impatient, and were ready to seize the first opportunity that offered of overturning the government. Sir James Montgomery was at the head of this disaffected party, which, during the ensuing winter, held several private meetings. The result was, that a most extraordinary and unnatural coalition took place between the Ja-

* *Memoirs*, p. 72.

cobites and the discontented Presbyterians for the restoration of King James. By uniting their votes in parliament they expected to embarrass the government, and make it odious to the people, and thereby pave the way for the return of the exiled monarch; but their designs were disconcerted by a discovery of the plot.

Mackay had now grown heartily tired of the service, and as his plans for the subjugation of the Highlands had been treated with indifference or neglect by the government, he became desirous to resign his commission, and retire to Holland, his adopted country, there to spend the remainder of his days in peace. There was certainly nothing in the situation of his native country at the period in question to induce him to remain. An unpaid, disorderly, and mutinous army; an oppressed people, a discontented nobility, a divided parliament and council; "church divided into two more irreconcilable factions, though both calling themselves Protestants, than Rome and Geneva," matters deemed of so little importance by the first reformers as scarcely to be mentioned in their writings, preferred by the "religious zealots" of those days to the well-being of the whole Protestant church, the Episcopal ministers who had been ejected preaching "King James more than Christ, as they had been accustomed to take passive obedience more than the gospel for their text:"—these considerations all tended to disgust a man of a moderate and conciliating disposition like Mackay, and made him "look upon Scotsmen of those times in general, as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, seeing all men hunt after their particular advantages, and none minding sincerely and self-deniedly the common good, which gave him a real distaste of the country and service; resolving from that time forward to disengage himself out of it as soon as possible he could get it done, and that the service could allow of."* Mackay, however, failed in obtaining even a temporary leave of absence during the winter by the intrigues of Lord Melville and Viscount Tarbet, who, as he says, suspecting an interview with William, who was then in Holland, to be the object of his proposed visit thither, were afraid that he would induce William to adopt a system different from that hitherto followed in the management of Scottish affairs.

Mackay finding that he would not succeed in his application for leave of absence, began to apply himself with great perseverance to accomplish his long-desired project of erecting a fort at Inverlochy, capable of containing ten or twelve hundred men, to keep the western Highlanders in check. In a communication which he made to King William on the subject, he requested to be supplied with three frigates of about thirty guns each, ten or twelve ships of burden, and three or four dozen of large boats, three thousand muskets, four hundred *chevaux de frise*, and two thousand spades, shovels, and pickaxes, with money suf-

* Memoirs, p. 77.

ficient to purchase two months' provisions for three or four thousand men. On receiving these supplies, he proposed to march with this force through Argyre about the end of March, as far as Dunstaffnage, where he meant to embark his men in the ships, and thence proceed to Inverlochy, and land them under the protection of the guns of the ships of war. No notice, however, was taken of this proposal either by William or his ministers, notwithstanding its importance was urged in repeated letters from Mackay, who, in consequence, grew quite impatient, and threatened to throw up his commission. At length the privy council having, at his request, written a letter to the king on the subject, he ordered the frigates to be sent down, with some arms and ammunition, and implements for commencing the work; but the required supply of money was not forthcoming, without which the expedition could not be undertaken. Anxious, however, to get the fort erected with as little delay as possible, Mackay offered to the privy council to proceed to Inverlochy with a select detachment of six hundred men, provided they would give him provisions for three months; but although a sum of five or six hundred pounds would have almost sufficed for this purpose, the council pleaded the impossibility of raising the money.* In this emergency he applied to the city of Glasgow, the magistrates of which undertook to hire vessels for transporting the detachment, and to furnish him with the necessary provisions, and such articles as he might require for completing the fort, in addition to those sent down from England.† Major Ferguson, who was appointed to command this expedition, repaired to Glasgow; but he was detained there about five weeks waiting for the provisions. The news, however, of such an armament being in preparation, and a report purposely circulated by Mackay, that it was much larger than it actually was, having reached the Highlands, had the effect of preventing many of the islanders and the inhabitants of the adjoining mainland from joining Major-General Buchan, who took the field in April sixteen hundred and ninety.

Before the arrival of this officer, the Highlanders had resolved to place themselves under the command of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, having in consequence of their defeat at Dunkeld, lost confidence in Cannan, as a commander. After that disaster, Lochiel and the other Jacobite chiefs had represented to James the precarious state of his affairs in Scotland, and the necessity there was for sending them aid; but James was too much occupied with preparations for resisting a threatened invasion of Ireland, by his son-in-law, to attend much to his Scottish concerns. He, however, sent over a vessel with some clothes, arms, ammunition, and provisions, and a few Irish officers, among whom was Major-General Buchan, with a commission, as commander-in-chief, of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland.

On Buchan's arrival, a meeting of the chiefs, and principal officers,

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 85.

† Page 86.

was held at Keppoch, to deliberate upon the course they ought to pursue. As no reinforcement had arrived from Ireland, and as the plot between the Jacobites, and the disappointed chiefs of the Presbyterians, which had raised the expectations of King James's partizans, had been discovered, the meeting was divided in opinion, upon the expediency of renewing hostilities. Some, thinking the cause quite desperate, proposed to submit to the government, which they knew was quite disposed to grant them the most favourable terms; but this proposition was warmly resisted by Lochiel, who had great influence with his fellow chiefs. He stated that he had adhered to the cause of Charles II., at a time when it was more desperate than that of his royal brother now was, who was still at the head of an army in Ireland, and who had many friends in Britain, ready to declare themselves, when a fit opportunity offered; that under these circumstances, he considered they would disgrace themselves, if they abandoned the cause they had pledged themselves to defend, and that for his own part he would neither listen to terms from the government, nor lay down his arms, without an express order from King James himself. In consequence of this declaration, the meeting unanimously resolved to continue the war; but as the labours of the spring season were not over, they postponed the muster of the clans, till those should be completed; and in the mean time directed Major General Buchan, to employ the interval in beating up the enemy's quarters, along the borders of the lowlands, for which purpose, a detachment of twelve hundred foot was to be placed at his disposal.*

When Mackay heard that Buchan had taken the field, he sent an express to Sir Thomas Livingston,—whom he had despatched north from Aberdeen to Inverness, with his regiment, in the month of January, to watch the motions of the Highlanders,—to keep a sharp outlook after Buchan, who, it was supposed, would probably make a descent upon the lowlands of Moray or Banff. Sir Thomas had at this time, besides his own regiment of dragoons, three regiments of foot, and some troops of horse, under his command, posted in and about the town of Inverness. Hearing that Buchan was marching through Lochaber and Badenoch, Livingston made two successive marches up the country, in the direction Buchan was said to be advancing, but on both occasions, he was obliged to return to Inverness, from the great difficulty he experienced in obtaining provender for his horses, and provisions for his troops, without seeing Buchan, or hearing any thing concerning him. Having ascertained that the feeling of hostility towards the government, was rapidly extending, and that it had even reached the clans, who had hitherto, in appearance at least, shown themselves favourably inclined to the revolution, Livingston, thereupon, despatched a letter to Mackay, acquainting him of the circumstance, and stating that if Buchan was not speedily opposed, he was afraid that by far the greater part of the

* Balcarras.

northern counties would join him. That he might obtain early intelligence of Buchan's motions, and avoid the difficulties he had experienced in his former marches, for want of provisions, Livingston took up a position eight miles from Inverness, with a select body of twelve hundred men, consisting of his own regiment, which amounted to three hundred men, four hundred of Lesley's regiment, a company of one hundred of Lord Reay's Highlanders, three hundred of Grant's Highlanders, and two troops of horse.*

On receiving Livingston's despatch, Mackay sent orders to the different detachments which lay at Stirling, Glasgow, Dundee, and other places, amounting together to three thousand men, to assemble without delay at Perth, that they might be in readiness, should a general rising in favour of King James take place in the north, to support Livingston and to serve as a check upon the southern Highlands. He, at the same time, directed Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan, brother of King James's general, who commanded the forces in the city and county of Aberdeen, consisting of a battalion of Ramsay's regiment, the Cameronian regiment, and five troops of horse and dragoons, to march upon any point Livingston should direct.†

In the mean time Major-General Buchan was advancing through Badenoch with the design of marching down Speyside into the duke of Gordon's country, where he expected to be joined by some of the vassals of that nobleman. At Culnakill he held a council of war to determine whether to take up a position in that neighbourhood, where they would be secure from the attacks of Livingston's cavalry, or proceed farther down the Spey. As Buchan's force did not exceed eight hundred men, and as they were aware that a large force of horse and foot lay at Inverness, the Highland officers were unanimously of opinion that they should not advance beyond Culnakill, but should march the following day to Glenlochy, and encamp among the adjoining woods. Buchan, however, who appears to have been as incapable of conducting a Highland force, and as ignorant of the mode of warfare pursued by the Highlanders as Cannan, his predecessor, now second in command, rejected this advice, and, on the following day, he marched down the Spey as far as Cromdale, where he encamped on the last day of April.‡

Livingston was, at this time, lying within eight miles of Strathspey, on the grounds of the laird of Grant, where he received notice the same day from a captain in Grant's regiment, who, with a company of men, held possession for the government of Balloch, now Grant castle, in the vicinity of Cromdale, that Buchan was marching down Strathspey. Desirous of attacking him before he should have an opportunity of be-

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 93. Mackay's account says, "six companies of Grant's regiment, making about 800 men,"—an evident error.

† Mackay's Memoirs, p. 91.

‡ Memoirs of Dundee.

ing joined by the country people, Livingston marched off towards the Spey, in the afternoon, and continued his march till he arrived within two miles of Balloch castle. As it was already dark, and the night far advanced, and as a difficult pass lay between him and the castle, Livingston proposed to encamp during the night; but not finding a convenient place, he, by the persuasion of one of his officers who was acquainted with the pass, and who undertook to conduct him safely through it, renewed his march, and arrived at the Dairade or top of the hill above the castle at two o'clock in the morning. Buchan's men were then reposing in fancied security near Lethindie, on the adjoining plain of Cromdale, and the fires of their camp, which were pointed out by the captain of the castle to Livingston, showed him that he was much nearer the enemy than he had any idea of. Mackay says, that had Livingston been aware that the Highlanders were encamped so near the pass, that he would not have ventured through it during the night, having little confidence in the country people; nor would the enemy, had they suspected Livingston's march, left their former station and encamped upon an open plain, a considerable distance from any secure position, "just as if they had been led thither by the hand as an ox to the slaughter."*

As several gentlemen of the adjoining country had sought an asylum in the castle on hearing of Buchan's advance, the commander, in order to prevent any knowledge of Livingston's approach being communicated to the Highlanders, had taken the precaution to shut the gates of the castle, and to prohibit all egress; so that the Highlanders were as ignorant of Livingston's arrival as he had previously been of their encampment at Cromdale. Such being the case, the commander of the castle advised him to attack the Highlanders without delay, and he himself offered to conduct the troops into the plain. Livingston's men were greatly fatigued with their march; but, as the opportunity of surprising the enemy should not, he thought, be slighted, he called his officers together, and, after stating his opinion, requested each of them to visit their detachments and propose an attack to them. The proposition having been acceded to, the troops were allowed half an hour to refresh themselves, after which they marched down through the valley of Auchinarrow, to the river. Finding a ford below Dellachaple, which he approached guarded by a hundred Highlanders, Livingston left a detachment of foot and a few dragoons to amuse them, while, with his main body, led by some gentlemen of the name of Grant on horseback, he marched to another ford through a covered way, a mile farther down the river, which he crossed at the head of three troops of dragoons, and a troop of horse, a company of his Highlanders forming the advanced guard. After he reached the opposite bank of the Spey, he perceived the Highlanders, who had received notice of his approach from their advanced guards at the upper ford, in great confusion, and in motion

* Memoirs, p. 95.

towards the hills. He thereupon sent orders to a part of his regiment, and another troop of horse to cross the river and join him ; but, without waiting for them, he galloped off at full speed towards the hills, so as to get between the fugitives—the greater part of whom were almost naked—and the hills, and intercept them in their retreat. The cavalry were accompanied by the company of Highlanders which had crossed the river, and who are said to have outrun their mounted companions, a circumstance which induced the flying Highlanders, on arriving at the foot of the hill of Cromdale, to make a stand ; but, on the approach of Livingston and the remainder of his dragoons and horse, they again took to their heels. They turned, however, frequently round upon their pursuers, and defended themselves with their swords and targets with great bravery. A thick fog, which, coming down the side of the mountain, enveloped the fugitives, compelled Livingston to discontinue the pursuit, and even to beat a retreat. According to Mackay, the Highlanders had four hundred men killed and taken prisoners, while Livingston did not lose a single man, and only seven or eight horses ; but Balcarras states his loss at about one hundred killed, and several prisoners ; and the author of the ‘ *Memoirs of Dundee* ’ says, that many of Livingston’s dragoons fell.* A party of the Camerons and Macleans, who had in the flight separated from their companions in arms, crossed the Spey the following day ; but, being pursued by some of Livingston’s men, were overtaken and dispersed on the moor of Granish near Aviemore, where some of them were killed. The rest took shelter in Craigelachie, and, being joined by Keppoch and his Highlanders, made an attempt to seize the castle of Lochinellan in Rothiemureus, but were repulsed with loss by the proprietor and his tenants.†

The news of the disaster at Cromdale was received with feelings of dismay by the partisans of King James at Edinburgh, who began to regret that they had not embraced an offer which had been made by King William for a cessation of arms. On the other hand, the friends of the government were elated with Livingston’s success, and hastened the long delayed expedition to Inverlochy, under Major Ferguson, which accordingly set sail from Greenock on the fifteenth of May. Having obtained the consent of King William to march into Lochaber, Mackay made preparations for the expedition ; and, although the earl of Melville, the commissioner to the Scottish parliament, gave him notice of some dangerous plots against the government both in England and Scotland, which might require the presence of a large force in the lowlands to check,

* Shaw (*History of Moray*) says that above a hundred of Buchan’s men were killed, and about sixty made prisoners, who were found in the castle of Lethindie and the mill, and he adds, as a thing deserving of remark, that “ Colonel Macdonald of Keppoch, who was ever keen for plunder, had never once fought for his king, would not encamp with the other rebels, but with his men quartered at Garvlin, half-a-mile distant, and thereby escaped without loss.”

† Shaw’s *Moray*.

yet, as he considered the subjugation of the Highlands of primary importance, he resolved to proceed on his expedition ; and, accordingly, on the eighteenth of June, marched from Perth at the head of about three thousand horse and foot. As his route to Inverlochy would bring him within a short day's march of the enemy, and as he was desirous—agreeably, as he says, to a military maxim, “without necessity, to put nothing to an apparent hazard when the success is of great importance,”—to avoid an engagement in a country full of defiles and difficult passes till he should join the forces in the north under Sir Thomas Livingston, he resolved to march towards Strathspey, and thence through Badenoch into Lochaber. To conceal his design of marching north from the enemy, after entering Athole, he made a movement as if he intended to enter Badenoch by the nearest route, and then turning suddenly to the right, took the road to Strathspey. Having joined Livingston in Strathspey on the twenty-sixth of June, the united forces, after a day's rest, marched towards Badenoch.

The Highlanders who, after their dispersion at Cromdale, had returned to their homes, had re-assembled on hearing of Mackay's approach ; but, from the fewness of their numbers, they made no attempt to obstruct his passage through Badenoch. Being informed that they had taken possession of a strait and difficult pass through which they expected him to march, he, on the first of July,—the very day on which the celebrated battle of the Boyne was fought,—made a feint with four troops of horse and dragoons as if he intended to pass that way, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy ; after which he suddenly changed his march to the left, having given orders, previously, to the officer commanding the four troops to retire and join his rear guard after he should have halted sufficiently long to give time to the country people in the neighbourhood of the pass to send intelligencers to announce his approach in that direction to the enemy. After traversing mountains and bogs, he entered Lochaber by Glenspean the same night and arrived at Inverlochy on the third of the month.*

The site of the old fort, which had been erected by Oliver Cromwell, did not please Mackay, as it was commanded by a neighbouring hill ; but, as a more eligible one could not be found, he commenced the work on the fifth of the month, and, in eleven days the wall was raised to its full intended height of twenty feet from the bottom of the fosse, and pallisaded round with a *chemin couvert* and glacis. Having finished the fort, which was named Fort-William, in honour of the king, he was about proceeding to send a detachment into the isle of Mull to reduce it, but receiving despatches from the privy council announcing the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, and requiring his return to the South as soon as possible, with as many of his forces as could be spared, in consequence of an expected invasion from France, he

* Memoirs, p. 98.

marched from Inverlochy for the South on the eighteenth, leaving behind him one thousand men in garrison in the new fort. He arrived in Badenoch on the twentieth by easy marches, and leaving his army in camp the whole of the twenty-first to rest themselves, he went with a party of one hundred and fifty horse and dragoons to inspect Ruthven castle which the Jacobite forces had burnt the preceding year. Here he left the company of Lord Reay's Highlanders with instructions to the commander to raise a breastwork round an old square wall, within which the garrison might remain secure against surprise or attack. He then descended into Athole, and arrived at Perth on the twenty-sixth of July, being little more than five weeks since he set out on his long projected expedition.

During his absence Major-General Buchan and Colonel Cannan, each at the head of a select body of cavalier horse, had been scouring the low country. The latter, in particular, with two hundred horse, had attacked Lord Cardross's dragoons who were stationed in Menteith, and had pursued them down as far as the park of Stirling. On his arrival at Perth Mackay was informed of the proceedings of Cannan's party, whence he sent orders to the troops at Stirling to march out in quest of them, while he himself, after receiving a supply of biscuit from Dundee, resolved to march from Perth with a detachment for the purpose of intercepting them; but Cannan had passed through the heights of Athole towards Braemar before the troops at Stirling left that town. Mackay followed after them for two days with a force of a thousand men, but was unable to overtake them. Being unprovided for a longer march, he returned on the third day to Stirling, whence he despatched three troops of Cardross's dragoons, and one of horse, to support the master of Forbes who was guarding Aberdeenshire with four troops of horse and dragoons.

Buchan and Cannan having united their forces, and being joined by Farquharson of Inveray, at the head of five or six hundred of Braemar Highlanders, descended into the adjoining low parts of Aberdeenshire, Mearns, and Banff, to unite themselves to some of the country Jacobite gentlemen, leaving behind them a body of one hundred and sixty men, to block up Abergeldie, in which Mackay still kept a garrison. They were at first opposed on their descent into the low country, by the Master of Forbes, and Colonel Jackson, with eight troops of cavalry, which was fully more than sufficient to have repulsed in a level country, any body the Highlanders could then bring into the field; but Buchan having purposely magnified the appearance of his forces, by ranging his foot over a large extent of ground, and interspersing his baggage and baggage horses among them, inspired the Master of Forbes and Jackson with such dread, that they considered it prudent to retire before a foe apparently so formidable in appearance, and their fears increasing after they had begun their retreat, they set off towards Aberdeen at full gallop, and never looked behind, till they had entered the town, after a race

of upwards of twenty miles.* Buchan, who had no immediate design upon Aberdeen, followed the alarmed cavalry, and such was the effect of the retreat upon some of the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, that some of them joined Buchan in the pursuit. The inhabitants were thrown into a state of the greatest alarm at this occurrence, and the necessary means of defence were adopted, but Buchan made no attempt to enter the town.

When Mackay received intelligence of this "disorder," as he terms the flight of Forbes and Jackson, he instantly despatched Colonel Cunningham with his own regiment, six companies of that of Beveridge, and ten companies of Kenmure's, amounting in whole to only three hundred men, and two troops of cavalry, to the north to join Jackson; but Cunningham was unable to effect a junction, as Cannan lay encamped between him and Jackson. As the fears of a French invasion had subsided, Mackay, on hearing of Cunningham's failure, marched north himself with Livingston's dragoons, and fourteen hundred foot, of the three Dutch regiments, and in such haste that he carried neither baggage nor provisions along with him; but on his way north, he learned that Buchan had left the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, and was marching southward. On hearing of Mackay's advance, Buchan drew off his men to the right, and crossed the hills. Mackay was obliged to halt a few days for provisions, and in the mean time ordered Jackson to join him. On arriving at the Dee, he left Cunningham with a detachment at the castle of Aboyne, to cover Jackson's march, and proceeded with his own division to raise the siege of Abergeldie. In the course of this march, a party of sixty dragoons, under Major Mackay, fell in among the hills, with a body of two hundred Highlanders, under Inveray, all of whom were either killed or made prisoners. The chief himself made a very narrow escape, having been trampled under the horses' feet, and left for dead on the field, by the dragoons. Mackay also laid waste the fertile country about Abergeldie, to the extent of twelve miles round, and burnt from twelve to fourteen hundred houses, by way of reprisal, for having blocked up the garrison.†

Having united all his forces in the north, with the exception of those which lay at Inverness, Mackay marched as far north as Strathdon, where he received information, of rather a doubtful character, that the enemy were moving in the direction of the county of Moray, and were threatening Elgin. He obtained, however, other intelligence of a less equivocal description, namely, that the greater part of the north was hostile to the government, and was ready to rise in arms, which information made him at once resolve to proceed north with all possible haste with his cavalry, in order to get Buchan's force dispersed, before any general ris-

* "His mastership (of Forbes) understanding the word of command, *wheel*, better than *advance*, turned the battle into a race, and won; for he was first at Aberdeen, and alarmed the town with a frightful outcry, *The enemy, the enemy's coming*."—*Memoirs of Dundee*.

† Mackay's Memoirs, p. 101. Appendix, No. 72.

ing should take place. Leaving therefore his foot behind, whom he instructed to return to Aberdeen for a supply of provisions, should they receive no orders to the contrary in a day or two at farthest, he proceeded north with his cavalry in great haste, and in the course of his march, was informed to a certainty, that Buchan was not only on his way north, but that he expected to be joined by several thousand Highlanders. He, therefore, continued his march with great celerity, allowing his men no more time than was absolutely necessary for refreshing their horses, and arrived within four hours' march of the enemy, before they received any notice of his approach. Buchan had reached Inverness, and was only waiting for the earl of Seaforth's and other Highlanders, whom he expected to join him to have attacked the town, but on hearing of Mackay's advance, he crossed the river Ness, and retired up along the north side of the Loch.

The earl of Seaforth, afraid of the consequences which might result to him personally, for the part he had acted, sent two gentlemen of his clan to Mackay, who apologized for his conduct, and stated that although in honour he was bound to make appear as if he favoured King James, yet they were authorized to assure Mackay, that he had never entertained any design either to molest the government, or to join Buchan; and they offered, on his part, any security Mackay might require for his peaceable behaviour in time coming. In answer to this communication, Mackay stated that no security short of the surrender of the earl's own person, as a prisoner, would satisfy him, and that if he failed to comply, he might expect to see his country destroyed with fire and sword. Mackay was, thereafter, waited upon by the earl's mother, the Countess Dowager of Seaforth, and Mackenzie of Coul, who brought him a letter from the earl, stating, that he would accede to such conditions as might be agreed upon between them and Mackay. An agreement was accordingly entered into, by which it was stipulated, that the earl should deliver himself into Mackay's hands, to be kept as a prisoner at Inverness, till the privy council should decide as to his future disposal; and to conceal this arrangement from the Jacobite party, it was farther agreed that the earl should allow himself to be seized as if by surprise, by a party of horse under Major Mackay, at one of his seats during the night. The earl, however, disappointed the party sent out to apprehend him, in excuse for which, both he and his mother, in letters to Mackay, pleaded the state of his health, which they alleged would suffer from imprisonment. The earl cannot certainly be blamed for having demurred placing himself at the unconditional disposal of such a body, as the privy council of Scotland, some of whom would not have hesitated to sacrifice him, if by doing so, they could have obtained a share of his estates.

Mackay was so irritated at the deception which had been practised upon him, that he resolved to treat the earl's vassals "with all the rigour of military execution," pursuant to which resolution, he sent

expresses to Sutherland, Strathnaver, and Balnagown, for a body of nine or ten hundred men, to be placed along with two hundred select men of Strathnaver's regiment, under the command of one Major Wishart, who knew the country well. While this force was to enter such parts of the earl's country as were inaccessible to horse, and burn all the houses of his vassals, and despoil them of their goods, Mackay himself intended with his cavalry, and three battalions of foot, which he had ordered from Aberdeen, to lay waste the lower parts of the Earl's territory. Having, however, a warm feeling for the earl's friends, on account of their being "all protestants, and none of the most dangerous enemies," as he says, and being more desirous to obtain possession of the earl's person than to ruin his friends, he caused information of his intentions upon the earl's lands, to be sent to Seaforth's camp, by some of his own party, as if from a feeling of friendship to him. Contrary to Mackay's anticipation, Seaforth surrendered himself, and was committed prisoner to the castle of Inverness.* About this time, the earl of Argyle with a force of nineteen hundred foot, and sixty dragoons, invaded Mull, the inhabitants of which took the oaths of allegiance to the government, and delivered up their arms. He was, however, from the state of the weather, obliged to leave the island, before effecting the reduction of Dowart castle, and left three hundred men behind him to keep it in check. Maclean himself, with a few of his friends, took refuge on Carnburrow, an inaccessible rock near Mull.

King James's affairs had now become utterly desperate in Scotland, and his defeat at the battle of the Boyne, on the first of July, sixteen hundred and ninety, almost annihilated his hopes in Ireland. Unable to collect any considerable body of men together, Buchan, after wandering through Lochaber, dismissed the few that still remained with him, and along with Sir George Barclay, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, and other officers, took up his abode with Macdonell of Glengary, and Cannan, and his officers retired to the isles, under the protection of Sir Donald Macdonald. In their retreats, these officers who had displayed the most heroic attachment to the cause of the unfortunate King, under the most trying circumstances, still continued to cherish some distant hopes of his restoration, and were prepared to enter upon any service, however hazardous, which might, by possibility, lead to such a consummation.

* "I believe it shall fare so with the earl of Seaforth, that is, that he shall haply, (perhaps) submit, when his country is ruined, and spoyled, which is the character of a true Scotsman, *wyse behinde the hand!*"—*Letter to the Privy Council, 1st Sept. 1690. Appendix to Memoirs, No. 73.* Mackay was directed by the privy council, by warrant, dated 7th Oct. 1690, "to transport the person of Colin, earl of Seaforth, with safety from Inverness to Edinburgh, in such way and manner, as he should think fit." In consequence of this removal, he was entered a prisoner within the castle of Edinburgh, on 6th Nov. following, whence he was liberated on 7th Jan. 1792, on finding caution to appear when called upon. He was bound not to go ten miles beyond Edinburgh. He was again imprisoned, but made his escape, and was apprehended at Pencaitland, on 7th May, 1692, and again kept in close confinement, within the castle of Edinburgh. He was afterwards liberated, on giving security for his peaceable behaviour.—*Records of the Privy Council.*

At length, seeing no chance of making a successful effort in favour of James, they, in connexion with the chiefs, sent over the earl of Dunfermline to France in spring, sixteen hundred and ninety-one, to represent to him the state of matters, and to receive his commands. Having received instructions from his majesty to enter into a negotiation with the government, a meeting of the principal officers and the Jacobite chiefs was held at Auchalader in Glenorchy on the thirtieth of June, which was attended by the earl of Breadalbane on the part of the government, at which a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon till the first of October. To induce the chiefs to submit to the government, money and other inducements were held out to them by Breadalbane, at whose disposal a sum of £15,000 had been placed by King William. They, however, declined to come to any definite arrangement at this time, and requested liberty to send Sir George Barclay and Major Menzies to France, to obtain the sanction of King James, to enter into a treaty with the government, a request which was reluctantly granted. After learning from these officers the miseries to which the clans were reduced, and the utter hopelessness of attempting another campaign under existing circumstances, James allowed them to make the best terms they could with the government. Accordingly, and in terms of a proclamation issued by the government on the twenty-seventh of August, sixteen hundred and ninety-one, promising an indemnity to all persons who had been in arms, and who should take an oath of allegiance to the government before the first of January following; all the chiefs, with one unfortunate exception, which will be afterwards noticed, gave in their adherence, and took the oath within the prescribed time. Buchan and Cannan with their officers, in terms of an agreement with the government, were transported to France, to which country they had asked and obtained permission from their royal master to retire, as they could no longer be serviceable to him in their native land.

CHAPTER IX.

History of Dundee's officers after their retirement to France.

THE page of history does not present a more noble and disinterested instance of fidelity and stern attachment to the cause of fallen greatness than that exhibited in the conduct of those gallant men, who, after undergoing the greatest hardships, and exposing their lives to imminent peril, still clung, now that all hopes of King James's restoration seemed to be at an end, to the fortunes of the exiled monarch, with an inflexible pertinacity which no adversity could subdue. Individual cases, displaying the same devoted and deep-rooted attachment to unfortunate princes, are not uncommon; but to see a body of about one hundred and fifty men, all, or the greater part of whom were gentlemen of family, and who might have retired with honour to themselves, and with the approbation of him whom they had so faithfully served to enjoy the sweets of domestic repose, simultaneously impelled by a high and chivalrous feeling of loyalty, sacrificing upon the altar of principle every thing which could contribute to their ease and happiness, and expatriating themselves, is an occurrence which can scarcely be paralleled in the records of monarchy. The following account of Dundee's officers, after their departure for France, will serve to close the history of his ill-fated insurrection:—

When landed in France, these officers were sent to Lisle, Burburgh, Arras, and other towns in French Flanders, where they were supported and pensioned at the expense of the French government, according to the rank they respectively held in Dundee's army. Notwithstanding the reverses of Louis the Fourteenth, which impaired his finances, he continued his benefactions to these faithful adherents of King James; but as, from the loss of the French fleet at La Hogue and Cherburgh, and other misfortunes, they considered that the French king would not be in a condition, for a considerable time at least, to aid in the restoration of James, and as they did not wish any longer to be a burden on the French government without performing duty, they unanimously resolved to make a proffer of their services to Louis, and requested permission of James to allow them to form themselves into a company of private soldiers, under the command of such officers as they themselves might choose.

In making this application to King James, they assured him that their only motive in doing so, was a desire to be as independent as the nature of their situation would admit of, and that they were ready and willing to fulfil all the duties required of common soldiers, until the course of events should enable his majesty to recall them to his service. The king, while he commended their loyalty, and approved of the motive which actuated them, gave a decided negative to the proposal. It was impossible, he observed, that gentlemen who had been accustomed to command, and who had been brought up in easy circumstances, could brook such service, and undergo the hardships which always attended the duty of a private soldier; that having himself, when an officer in France, commanded a company of officers, he could speak from experience of the insuperable difficulties which were opposed to the step they proposed to take, some of the officers he commanded, having soon died from fatigue, while others, wearied and disgusted with the service, sought for and obtained their discharges, so that the company soon dwindled away almost to nothing, and he got no reputation by the command. For these reasons he begged them to abandon the project. The officers, however, intent on their purpose, ultimately succeeded in obtaining James's consent to their being enrolled as a volunteer corps of private sentinels. The earl of Dunfermline was pitched upon for captain, but partly by the entreaties of King James, who wished to have a nobleman of such tried fidelity and discretion near his person, and partly by the intrigues of the court of St Germain, the earl was induced to decline the command. This was an unfortunate circumstance, as the officer who was selected in place of the earl did not act fairly towards the company.

Before proceeding to the station assigned to them by the French government, the officers repaired by invitation to St Germain to spend a few days before taking leave of King James. Here an occurrence took place, which, though probably intended by the officers as a jocular demonstration, made a deep impression upon the mind of the king. Understanding that James was to hunt in the royal demesnes, in the neighbourhood of St Germain, one morning, the officers, without any notice of their intention to the court, appeared early in the garden through which James had to pass, drawn up in a line, and dressed and accoutred as French soldiers. Somewhat surprised at the appearance of a body of troops in the garden at such an early hour, and little suspecting that the men whom he saw, clothed in the garb of common French soldiers, were his own officers, he had the curiosity to inquire who these men were, and on being informed that these were the gentlemen who had abandoned their country for his sake, he was seized with grief at the destitute situation in which he now beheld them, and instead of proceeding to enjoy the pleasures of the chace, retired to his palace to give vent to his sorrow.

In a few days thereafter, previous to their departure for the south of

France, whither they were ordered to march, about seventy of these officers were reviewed in the garden by King James, who, at the conclusion of the review, addressed them as follows :—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ My own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private sentinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your loyalty hath made so deep an impression on my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions but which you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your prince, he is of your own blood, —a child capable of any impression, and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your merits.

“ At your own desires you are now going a long march, far distant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God, and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.”

When he had done speaking, he went to the head of the line, and passing along, stopt and conversed with every individual officer, asked his name, which he immediately noted down in his pocket-book. Resuming his former position, he took off his hat, and praying God to bless and prosper them, he made a most gracious bow, and retired. Overcome by his feelings, he returned a second time, made another bow, and burst into tears. The officers, to testify their sense of this mark of royal sympathy, knelt simultaneously down, and bowing their heads, remained for some time motionless and in profound silence, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. On rising, they passed before his majesty with the accustomed honours. About a month after, another division consisting of fifty officers, was reviewed by James, who noticed them in a similar manner.

Perpignan in the south of France, to which these volunteers were appointed to march, is about nine hundred miles from St Germain, but great as the distance was, they bore the difficulties of the march with extraordinary fortitude and patience. These difficulties were, however, greatly alleviated by the kind attentions which were paid to them by the magistrates and leading men of the different towns and villages through which they passed, all of whom interested themselves to provide them with the best accommodation, by billeting them on the richest in-

habitants. The affability of their deportment, their sufferings, their disinterestedness, and the singularity of their situation, made them favourites wherever they came, and the history of the Scottish gentlemen volunteers became the general theme of admiration. They were noticed in a particular manner by the young ladies, crowds of whom were to be seen every morning walking on the parade to take a parting glance at the unfortunate strangers.

When they arrived at Perpignan, they went to the house of Lieutenant-General Shaseron, before which they drew up in line. Hearing of their arrival, the whole ladies in the town assembled "to see so many worthy gentleman, for their loyalty and honour, reduced to the unhappy state of private sentinels." * These ladies were affected to tears on beholding this gallant band, and commiserating the destitute situation of the unfortunate strangers, they presented the commanding officer, according to common report, with a purse of two hundred pistoles for their behoof, but which, it is asserted, was kept up by the officer to whom it was intrusted. Having spent all their money on their march, and finding the daily pittance of three pence, and a pound and a half of bread, the pay and allowance of a common soldier, quite inadequate for their support, they were obliged to dispose of their scarlet clothes, laced and embroidered vests, shirts, watches, and rings, which were exposed occasionally for public sale in the streets of Perpignan and Canet, from November sixteen hundred and ninety-two, to the first of May, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, when they went to camp.

From Perpignan the corps marched to Canet, on the coast of the Mediterranean, where they were incorporated with another body which had arrived there some time before them. At Canet the officers laid aside their usual dress, and put on the French uniform. They were then instructed in the French exercise, and by the modesty of their demeanour, and the patience with which they underwent the fatigues of drill, they excited the sympathy of the French officers, who treated them with very great respect and attention. About the middle of March, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, they were joined by a company under Major Rutherford, and by a corps of veterans, under Captain John Foster, who had served in Dumbarton's regiment. The meeting of these different bodies tended greatly to alleviate their common sufferings, as they occasionally kept up a social intercourse, drinking whenever they met to the health of the king, and devising plans for his restoration.

Before these different companies were marched into camp, they were ordered to return to Perpignan to be reviewed by Marshal de Noailles. Their appearance, on the morning of their march from Canet, was extremely affecting, as they had now no longer any part of their former dress remaining, and were so completely metamorphosed, that they

* Account of Dundee's officers after they went to France, 1711.

could not be distinguished from the common soldiers of the country. The marshal was so well pleased with the appearance of the volunteers when passing in review, that he ordered them to march before him a second time, and presented them with a mule, which cost him fifty pistoles, to carry their tents. The officers observing some of the inhabitants of Perpignan, who attended the review, wearing the apparel which they had purchased from them, amused themselves with jocular remarks on the appearance of the burgesses in their "old clothes."

After the review was over, the corps returned to Canet the same evening, where they remained some days, and on the first of May, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, they began their march for Spain to join the army which invested the city of Roses. In their march across the Pyrenean mountains they suffered very much from fatigue, as they were obliged to carry their provisions, kettles, tent-poles, pins, and other utensils. They arrived at the French camp at Roses on the twentieth of May, and immediately entered upon the service of the siege. As the besieging army was wholly unprovided with pioneers, the officers volunteered to act as such, and in that capacity they employed themselves in the fatiguing and hazardous duty of hewing wood, making fascines, and raising batteries against the town. In addition to this labour, they also joined volunteer foraging parties, in which service, particularly when there was any probability of engaging parties of the enemy, they mounted double the required complement of men. They also took a share occasionally in the lighter duties of piquets, as a relaxation from the heavier toils of the camp. But arduous as these were, the Scotch officers, from their cheerfulness and alacrity, would have surmounted them all, if the unhealthiness of the climate had not speedily impaired their constitutions. In the valley of Lampardo, where Roses is situated, the water is so scarce and so muddy, and the climate so unhealthy for foreigners, that when Charles II. of Spain heard that Marshal de Noailles had encamped his army there, he said publicly at court that he wanted no army to fight them, as the climate would fight for him. Besides the unhealthiness of the climate, the Scotch officers had to combat another enemy to their constitutions in the shape of sardinas, horse-beans and garlic, which, with muddy water, formed the only food they could obtain. The consequence was, that in a short time many of them were seized with fevers and fluxes; but although every entreaty was used by some Irish officers with whom the climate and diet agreed better, to induce them to return to Perpignan, and enter the hospital, they insisted continuing in the camp, and performing the duty they had voluntarily undertaken.

The first occasion on which the officers distinguished themselves, was in a sally which the Spaniards made from the town. These officers, along with some detachments of Irish, having mounted the trenches, the Spaniards made several sallies out of the town into a field of barley; but they were repulsed by an equal number of the officers three several

times, who drove them back to the drawbridge which they had crossed in presence of the French army and the garrison. A French major-general, who observed the struggle, asked Colonel Scot, who commanded in the trenches, why one detachment only had attacked the enemy, and not the others? Without returning a direct answer, Colonel Scot told him that the attacking party was composed of the Scotch officers, and that the others were Irish. The major-general, intending to pay a compliment to the Scots, observed with a smile that he had often heard that Scotland and Ireland were two distinct kingdoms, but he never knew the difference before. Such is the account given by the author of the memoirs of Dundee's officers, which, if true, shows that the Frenchman was ignorant of the character of Irishmen, who certainly are not behind any other nation in bravery.

On the twenty-seventh of May, Marshal de Noailles having determined to make a grand attack upon the town, notified his wish that a select body of volunteers should mount the trenches. On this occasion all the Scotch officers, along with two other Scotch and two Irish companies, offered their services. Among the Scotch was a company of grenadiers commanded by Major Rutherford, with which the greater part of the officers was incorporated. It fell to the lot of the grenadiers to advance first towards the station assigned the volunteers at the trenches; but instead of marching in a direction to avoid the fire of the enemy, Major Rutherford, with rash but intrepid daring, led his men directly in front of a bastion where he was exposed to the fire of several pieces of cannon. Colonel Brown, at the head of the rest of the volunteers, finding himself bound in honour to follow the example thus set by Rutherford, was about following him; but the French commander seeing the great danger to which the latter had unnecessarily exposed himself, sent one of his aid-des-camps with orders to him to retrace his steps, and advance to his station another way under cover of the trenches. He, accordingly, took another direction and posted himself at the station pointed out to him, which was behind a trench near the town. Had he remained only six minutes longer, his men would have been all cut to pieces by a tremendous fire which the enemy was ready to open upon them. After Colonel Brown's battalion had joined the position assigned it, which was on the left flank of the grenadier company, a brisk fire was opened upon the town, by which a breach was made in the walls. The besieged, apprehensive of an immediate assault, beat a chamade, and offered to surrender the town on reasonable terms; but the marshal's demands were so exorbitant, that the governor of the city refused to accede to them, and resolved to hold out in expectation of more favourable terms being offered. The firing was, thereupon, resumed on both sides with great fury, and the city, in a short time, capitulated. Eight of the grenadiers were killed, and Captain Ramsay, a brave officer, was shot through both legs, and died in two days. Major Ruth-

erford also received a wound in his back, which proved fatal in three days. In an interview which the governor had with Marshal de Noailles after the city had surrendered, the former asked the French general who these grenadiers were, adding, at same time, that it was owing to the smart firing which they kept up, that he had been compelled to surrender, being afraid that such determined fellows, if longer opposed, would enter the breach. "Ces sont mes enfans,"—these are my children, answered the marshal with a smile, "these are the Scotch officers of the king of Great Britain, who, to show their willingness to share of his miseries, have reduced themselves to the carrying of arms under my command." On the following day the marshal took a view of his camp, and when he came to the officers' quarter he halted, and requested them to form a circle round him. After they had assembled he took off his hat, and proceeded to address them. He thanked them for their good services in the trenches, and freely acknowledged that, to their conduct and courage, he was indebted for the capture of the town, and he assured them that he would acquaint his royal master how well they had acted. This he accordingly did, in despatches which he sent to Versailles by his son, and the king was so well pleased with the account which the marshal had given of the behaviour of the Scotch volunteers, that he immediately went to St Germain and showed the despatches to King James, and thanked him personally for the services his subjects had done in taking Roses.

To alleviate the privations of these brave men, Marshal de Noailles had the generosity to make an allowance to each of them of a pistole, two shirts, a night-cap, two cravats, and a pair of shoes; but it is distressing to find that part of these gifts was not appropriated, owing to the rapacity of the officers to whom the distribution of them was intrusted. Some indeed got a pistole without any of the articles of clothing, some a pair of shoes, and others a shirt; but many of them got nothing at all. Even an allowance of fivepence *per diem* from King James's own purse, which was paid monthly, suffered peculation, as it passed through the hands of the paymaster, who always made some deductions for shoes, stockings, shirts, broken swords, fusils, or other things, all of which were fictitious, as they were covered by an allowance called *half-mounting*, of which the volunteers do not seem at the time to have been aware.

After the termination of the siege, the strength of the greater part of the company was greatly exhausted by the sickness they had suffered. Even after the fatigues of the siege were over, many of them were again attacked by fevers, agues, and fluxes, to such an extent, that the marshal requested them to leave the camp, and select a healthy place of residence till they should recover; but they declined his friendly offer, and told him "that they came not to that country to lie within rotten walls, when the king of France, (who was so kind to their master,) had business in the field."*

* Memoirs of Dundee's officers.

Marshal de Noailles marched from Roses for Piscador about the middle of June, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, with an army of twenty-six thousand men; but the heat was so great, and the supply of water so scanty, that he was obliged to leave sixteen thousand of his men behind him on the road. Afraid that this division would be attacked in its rear by the Spanish army, the generals ordered all the piquets to be drawn out immediately to watch the motions of the enemy; but as the greater part of the army had not come up to the ground, the corporals could not get the required compliment. In this dilemma, the Scottish officers, who were in the camp, mounted for their comrades, and marched to the parade of the piquets in such good order, and with such readiness, as to attract the especial notice of the French generals, who observed on the occasion, that "*Le gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme, et se moutre toujours tel dans le besoin, et dans le danger.*"—"The gentleman is always a gentleman, and will always show himself such in time of need and danger."

Leaving Piscador about the middle of July, they repassed some of the Pyrenees and encamped at Ville France at the foot of Mount Canigo, where they remained till about the twentieth of August, when they marched to Mount Escu, whence Major-General Wauchope, with some Irish troops, went to Savoy. After making a second campaign on the plains of Cerdanna, the company of officers were marched back to Perpignan, where they arrived on the first of November. Many of them entered the hospital of the town, where sixteen of them died in a short time. After remaining twelve days at Perpignan, they marched to Tourailles to pass the winter. Their friends, who had heard of their sickness in Catalonia, had made application to King James, to obtain an order for their removal to a more healthy situation, which had been so well attended to by his Majesty, that on their arrival at Tourailles they received an order to march to Alsace, which, from the coldness of its climate, was considered to be more congenial to the constitutions of Scotchmen.

When Marshal de Noailles received this order he was much surprised, and thinking that the officers had themselves applied for the order in consequence of some offence they had taken, he sent for Colonel Brown the commanding officer, and after showing him the order, requested him to say, on his honour, if the gentlemen had received any affront from him or his officers, and he added, that if he or they had given any offence of which they were not aware, they would give them every satisfaction. He, moreover, declared, that from the respect he entertained for them, and the high opinion he had formed of their bravery and services, he had resolved, had they remained in his army, to have promoted them to the rank they had respectively held in the army of King James. He then expressed his regret at parting with them and bade them adieu.

On the fourth of December, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, the

company of officers and the other two Scotch companies left Toureilles in Rousillon for Silistad in Alsace. Alluding to this route their historian observes, that the "gentlemen" were in many respects "very fit for that march; for the market of Perpignan eased them of that trouble they used to have in hiring mules for their baggage; so that when they left the country (of Rousillon,) the most frugal of them could carry his equipage in a handkerchief, and many had none at all; and the fatigues and hardships of the campaign had reduced their bodies so very low that many of them looked rather like shadows and skeletons than men. Their coats were old and thin, many of their breeches wanted lining, and their stockings and shoes were torn and worn in pieces, so that by the time they came to Lyons, where they kept their Christmas, their miseries and wants were so many and great, that I am ashamed to express them. Yet, no man that conversed with them could ever accuse them of a disloyal thought, or the least uneasiness under their misfortunes. When they got over their bottles (which was but seldom,) their conversation was of pity and compassion for their king and young gentleman (the prince,) and how his majesty might be restored without any prejudice to his subjects."

At Rouen in Dauphiny, they were left in a state of great destitution by Colonel Brown, who went to St Germain, carrying along with him two months gratification money, a term which they gave to King James's allowance of fivepence *per diem*; but notwithstanding the privations to which they were exposed by this other instance of the cupidity of that officer, they proceeded on their journey. Unfortunately, a famine raged in the countries through which they had to pass, which prevented the inhabitants from exercising the rites of hospitality, and as the winter was unusually severe, the ground being covered with snow for a considerable time and to a great depth,—the officers suffered under the combined effects of cold and hunger.

On arriving at Silistad they were received with great civility by the governor, (a Scotchman,) the mayor of the town, and the officers of the garrison, who frequently invited them to dine and sup with them; but as hospitality necessarily had its bounds, at a time when provisions of all sorts were extremely scarce, and of course uncommonly dear, the officers soon found themselves compelled to part with articles which they had formerly resolved to preserve. They accordingly opened a kind of market at Silistad, at which were exposed silver buckles, seals, snuff-boxes, periwigs, ruffles, cravats, stockings, and other articles. At Perpignan, when exposing for sale their scarlet coats, embroidered vests, and other less necessary or less valued appendages, they used, in reference to other articles on which they placed greater value, to say, for instance, "this is the seal of our family; I got it from my grandfather, therefore I will never part with it." Another would say, "I got this ring from my mother or mistress. I will sooner starve than part with it." All these fine protestations, however, were forgotten or disregarded amidst

the irresistible calls of hunger, and the cruel assaults of penury; for as the author of their memoirs quaintly observes, "when the gentleman poverty came amongst them he carried off every thing fair and clean, without any exception or distinction; and all the donor's returns were their healths toasted about in a bumper with a remnant of old Latin, *necessitas non habet legem*."

Although the officers remained upwards of a year at Silistad, they were not able from sickness and disease to make up a battalion; but notwithstanding their impaired constitutions, the governor of Silistad was heard often publicly to declare, that if besieged he would depend more upon the three Scotch companies, and particularly the company of officers, for defending the place, than upon the two battalions which composed the rest of the garrison. The governor was led to make this observation from an apprehension he entertained that Prince Lewis of Baden, who had crossed the Rhine with an army of eighty thousand men during the stay of the officers at Silistad, and who remained three weeks in Alsace, would lay siege to that town. But the officers had not an opportunity afforded them of proving the correctness of the governor's opinion of their courage, as Prince Lewis, on receiving intelligence that Marshal de Boufflers was advancing with a force of fifteen thousand horse and dragoons, recrossed the Rhine in confusion, leaving his baggage behind him, and with a loss of three thousand men who were drowned in the river in consequence of the bridges across the Rhine having been broken down by the prince in his retreat. At the time Prince Lewis commenced his retreat, he had a foraging party of a hundred hussars traversing and plundering the country, who, being apprized on their way back to the camp, that their army had repassed the Rhine, and that they were left alone on the French side, resolved, as they could not get across the Rhine out of Alsace, to make the best of their way to Basle, and information of this design being brought to Marshal de Lorge the governor of Silistad, he despatched couriers to the commanders of the different garrisons which lay in their course to intercept them in their retreat. He at the same time sent out the company of Scotch officers, on whose courage he had the most unbounded reliance, to guard a pass through which he supposed the hussars would attempt to penetrate, a piece of service which the officers accepted of with great cheerfulness in return for the good opinion which the governor entertained of them. The hussars had in fact selected the pass for their route, but on approaching it they were deterred from their intention on being informed by a Jew, that the pass was guarded by a company of British officers that lay in wait for them, and that if they attempted to go through it every one of them would be either killed or taken prisoners. They, therefore, retraced their steps, and seeing no possibility of escape, went to Strasburg where they surrendered themselves; they boasted, however, that had not the company of Scotch officers prevented them they would

have marched through in spite of all the garrisons in Alsace and crossed the Rhine at Basle in Switzerland.

Although the officers suffered even greater privations than they did in Catalonia, and had to bear the hardships of an Alsace winter, remarkable that year for its severity, which, from the great deficiency in food and clothing, was no easy task, the mortality was not so great as might have been expected, only five having died during their stay at Silistad. A report of their sufferings having been brought to King James by some person who felt an interest in the officers, he sent orders to their colonel to discharge such of them as might desire to withdraw from the service, and granted them permission to retire to St Germain. Only fourteen however availed themselves of this kind offer. These, on arriving at St Germain, were received in the most gracious manner by King James, who offered either to support them handsomely at St Germain, or to send them home to their own country at his own expense. After thanking his majesty for his generous offer, they requested that he would allow them a few days to consider the matter; and, in the meantime, an occurrence took place which, though trivial in itself, was looked upon by the devoted cavaliers as a singular event in their history from which important consequences might ensue. The "young gentleman," as the son of King James, a child of six years of age, was called, was in the practice of going to Marli in a carriage for his amusement, and one day when about entering the carriage, on his return to St Germain, he recognised four of the officers whom he beckoned to advance. They, accordingly, walked up to the carriage, and falling on their knees, kissed the hand of the prince, who told them that he was sorry for their misfortunes, and that he hoped to live to see his father in a condition to reward their sufferings; that as for himself he was but a child, and did not understand much about government and the affairs of the world, but he knew this much, that they had acquitted themselves like men of honour, and good and loyal subjects; and that they had, by their sufferings in the cause of his father, laid him under an obligation which he would never forget. Then, handing his purse to them, which contained ten pistoles and three half-crowns, he requested them to divide the contents among themselves, and to drink to the healths of his father and mother. After taking leave of the prince, they adjourned to a tavern in the town called, singularly enough, the Prince of Orange's Head, "where" (says the narrator of the anecdote) "they spoke no treason, nor burned pretenders," but poured out copious libations to the health of the king and queen, and the young prince who, on that day, had exhibited a precocity of talent which they were not quite prepared to expect. Before breaking up a quarrel was likely to ensue among the officers for the possession of the purse, each claiming a right to keep it for the sake of the donor, but the discussion was speedily put an end to, by some of the nobility of the court, who, hearing of the dis-

pute, and dreading the consequences, sent a person, in the king's name, to require delivery of the purse, a demand which was at once acceded to. It is remarkable, that among all these officers who gave such extraordinary proofs of attachment to a catholic king, there were very few catholics, and that they included in their ranks several young divines of the protestant episcopal church in Scotland, who had joined Dundee when they saw that the object of the revolution government was to overthrow episcopacy in that kingdom.

At an entertainment given at Silistad by Colonel Brown, on the tenth of June sixteen hundred and ninety-four, to celebrate the birth-day of the young prince, some symptoms of dissatisfaction were displayed by some of the officers at the bad treatment which they and their comrades had received from some of the superior officers, and one of them hinted that, if his majesty was aware of the circumstances, they would not only lose their commissions, but would be excluded from the king's presence. The result was, that the company immediately separated; and all familiar intercourse between Colonel Brown and the officers ceased. Apprehensive, therefore, that the officers might, if they went to St Germain, make disclosures of the peculation and robbery of the superior officers, an attempt was made to dissuade them from accepting the king's offer; but some of them went to St Germain, as has been stated, and, as anticipated, made known to the king the wrongs they had suffered. Colonel Brown was at court at the time, and in consequence of the statements of the officers, and a violent altercation he had with the earl of Dunfermline, who was a great favourite at St Germain, had made himself so disliked that no gentleman would converse with him. Irritated at the disclosures made by the officers, he quarrelled with Captain Robert Arbuthnot, one of the fourteen officers who had repaired to St Germain, which ended in a rencounter with drawn swords at the castle-gate of St Germain; but, after several pushes, in which neither of them sustained any injury, the guards interfered and separated them. On the matter being investigated, Brown being in fault, was compelled to crave Arbuthnot's pardon.

To counteract the effect of the disclosures made by the officers at St Germain, and to endeavour to restore himself to the good graces of the court, Brown drew up a certificate to be signed by the officers at Silistad, in which were stated many alleged good services which he had done to them, and he directed Colonel Scot and Major Buchan, to whom this paper was sent, to prevail upon the governor of Silistad, who had great influence over the officers, to obtain their signatures to it. A few were prevailed upon to subscribe, but many absolutely refused. On the writing being returned, Brown, or some other person, added the names of the officers who had declined to sign. The certificate was then presented to King James, but the imposition was speedily detected, and Brown was disgraced, and banished from court. In cou-

sequence of this exposure, the allowance of the officers was increased to ten-pence *per diem*.

In February sixteen hundred and ninety-four, the three companies marched from Silistad to Old Brisac, whence the company of officers was sent to Fort Cadette on the Rhine, where they lay a year and four months. Their next station was at Strasburg, where, in December sixteen hundred and ninety-seven, they especially signalized themselves. The occasion was this. General Stirk, who commanded the imperial forces, having appeared with an army of sixteen thousand men on the right bank of the Rhine, apparently with a design to cross it; the Marquis de Sell drew out all the garrisons in Alsace, including the company of officers, amounting to about four thousand men, and encamped them on the opposite bank over against Stirk, for the purpose of obstructing his passage, and to prevent him from carrying a bridge over into an island in the middle of the river, from which Stirk would be enabled to annoy the French army with his artillery. From the depth of the water, however, and the want of boats, which prevented the French commander from taking possession of the island, he had the mortification to see the imperial general openly throw a bridge of boats across to the island into which he placed a force of five hundred men, who immediately raised a battery, behind which they entrenched themselves. Seeing the chagrin and disappointment which such an occurrence had occasioned to the marquis, the Scotch officers, through the medium of Captain John Foster, who then commanded them, volunteered to cross over to the island by wading through the water, and to drive the Germans out of it. The marquis, who appears at first not to have understood the plan of wading through the water, told Foster that, as soon as his boats came up, the Scotch volunteers should have the honour of leading the attack; but Foster having explained that they meant to enter the water, the marquis, in a fit of amazement, shrugged up his shoulders, prayed God to bless them, and desired them to act as they thought fit. Captain Foster, thereupon, returned to his company, and having informed the officers that he had obtained permission from the marquis to make the proposed attack, they, along with the other two companies, immediately made preparations for entering upon the difficult and dangerous enterprize they had chosen for themselves. Having tied their arms, shoes, and stockings, around their necks, they, favoured by the darkness of the night, advanced quietly to the bank of the river, and taking each other by the hand for better security, according to a Highland custom, they entered the water with a firm and steady pace. After they had passed the deepest part of the river, where the water was as high as their breasts, they halted, and having untied their cartouch-boxes and firelocks, they proceeded quietly on their course, and gained the opposite bank unperceived by the enemy. They then advanced with their firelocks levelled, and when sufficiently near the enemy's entrenchments, they poured in a volley among the surprised Germans, who immediately fled in confusion

towards the bridge which they had erected. The volunteers pursued them closely, and killed several of them, and others were drowned in the river in consequence of the bridge having been broken down by the fugitives. When information was brought to the Marquis de Sell that the Germans were driven out of the island, and that it was in full possession of the Scottish companies, he expressed his gratitude and admiration by making the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast; and declared that these officers had performed the bravest action he had ever witnessed. Next morning he visited the island, and after embracing every officer, he gave them his most hearty thanks for the important service they had performed, and promised that he would send an account of their brave conduct to the French king, who, on receiving the despatches, went to St Germain and thanked King James in person for the eminent service his subjects had performed. The officers remained six weeks on the island, during which General Stirk made several attempts to retake it, but his endeavours were defeated by the vigilance of the officers, and seeing no hopes of being able to cross the Rhine, he abandoned his position, and retired into the interior. In honour of the captors the island was afterwards named *L'Isle d'Ecosse*.

Alsace being thus relieved from the presence of an enemy, the company of officers returned to Strasburg to perform garrison duty. The last piece of active service they performed was in attacking and driving from a wood a body of hussars who had crossed the Rhine above Fort Louis. In this affair several of the hussars were killed, and they were forced to recross the Rhine with the loss of some of their horses and baggage. The negotiations at Ryswick, which ended in a general peace, now commenced; and King William having, it is said, made the disbanding of the Scottish officers a *sine qua non*, the company was broken up at Silistad, after the conclusion of the treaty. Thus ended the history of these extraordinary men, few of whom survived their royal master.

CHAPTER X.

Massacre of Glenco.

THE negotiation set on foot by the earl of Breadalbane with the Highland Jacobite chiefs was broken off by the latter, principally at the instigation of Mackian or Alexander Macdonald of Glenco, between whom and the earl a difference had arisen respecting certain claims which the earl had against Glenco's tenants for plundering his lands, and for which the earl insisted for compensation and retention out of Glenco's share of the money, which he had been intrusted by the government to distribute among the chiefs. The failure of the negotiation was extremely irritating to the earl, who threatened Glenco with his vengeance, and, following up his threat, entered into a correspondence with Secretary Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, between whom it is understood a plan was concerted for cutting off the chief and his people. Whether the "mauling scheme," of the earl, to which Dalrymple alludes in one of his letters, refers to a plan for the extirpation of the tribe, is a question which must ever remain doubtful; but there is reason to believe, that if he did not suggest, he was at least privy to the foul murder of that unfortunate chief and his people, an action which has stamped an infamy upon the government of King William, which nothing can efface.

In common with the other chiefs who had supported the cause of King James, Glenco resolved to avail himself of the indemnity offered by the government, and accordingly proceeded to Fort-William to take the required oaths, where he arrived on the thirty-first day of December, sixteen hundred and ninety-one, being the last day allowed by the proclamation for taking the oaths. He immediately presented himself to Colonel Hill, the Governor of Fort-William, and required him to administer the oath of allegiance to the government; but the Colonel declined to act, on the ground, that under the proclamation, the civil magistrate alone could administer them. Glenco remonstrated with Hill on account of the exigency of the case, as there was not any magistrate whom he could reach before the expiration of that day, but Hill persisted in his resolution. He, however, advised Glenco to proceed instantly to Inverary, and gave him a letter to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlass, sheriff of Argyleshire, begging of him to receive Glenco as "a lost sheep," and to administer the necessary oaths to him. Hill, at the same

time, gave Glenco a personal protection under his hand, and gave him an assurance that no proceeding should be instituted against him under the proclamation, till he should have an opportunity of laying his case before the King or the privy council.

Glenco left Fort-William immediately, and so great was his anxiety to reach Inverary with as little delay as possible, that although his way lay through mountains almost impassable, and although the country was covered with a deep snow, he proceeded on his journey without even stopping to see his family, though he passed within half a mile of his own house. At Barkaldin he was detained twenty-four hours by Captain Drummond. On arriving at Inverary, Sir Colin Campbell was absent, and he had to wait three days till his return, Sir Colin having been prevented from reaching Inverary sooner, on account of the badness of the weather. As the time allowed by the proclamation for taking the oaths had expired, Sir Colin declined at first to swear Glenco, alleging that it would be of no use to take the oaths; but Glenco having first importuned him with tears to receive from him the oath of allegiance, and having thereafter threatened to protest against the sheriff should he refuse to act, Sir Colin yielded, and administered the oaths to Glenco and his attendants on the sixth of January. Glenco, thereupon, returned home in perfect reliance that having done his utmost to comply with the injunction of the government, he was free from danger.

Three days after the oaths were taken, Sir Colin wrote Hill, acquainting him of what he had done, and that Glenco had undertaken to get all his friends and followers to follow his example; and about the same time he sent the letter which he had received from Hill, and a certificate that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance to Colin Campbell, sheriff clerk of Argyle, then at Edinburgh, with instructions to lay the same before the privy council, and to inform him whether or not the council received the oath. The paper on which the certificate that Glenco had taken the oaths was written, contained other certificates of oaths which had been administered within the time fixed, but Sir Gilbert Elliot, the clerk of the privy council, refused to receive the certificate relating to Glenco as irregular. Campbell, thereupon, waited upon Lord Aberuchil, a privy councillor, and requested him to take the opinion of some members of the council, who accordingly spoke to Lord Stair and other privy councillors; all of whom gave an opinion that the certificate could not be received without a warrant from the King. Instead, however, of laying the matter before the privy council, or informing Glenco of the rejection of the certificate, that he might petition the King, Campbell perfidiously defaced the certificate, and gave in the paper on which it was written to the clerks of the council.

Whether in thus acting, Campbell was influenced by Secretary Dalrymple, who has obtained an infamous notoriety by the active part which he took in bringing on the massacre of Glenco, it is impossible to say; but it is not improbable that this man—who, a

few weeks before, had exulted * that as the winter was the only season in which the Highlanders could not escape, they could easily be destroyed “in the cold long nights”—was not an indifferent spectator to Campbell’s proceedings. In fact, it appears that the secretary contemplated the total extirpation of the clans, for, in a letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, dated the seventh of January, he says, “You know in general that these troops posted at Inverness and Inverlochie, will be ordered to take in the house of Invergarrig, and to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel’s lands, Keppoch’s, Glengarrig’s, and Glenco,” and he adds, “I assure you your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners.” In another letter to Sir Thomas, written two days thereafter, by which time accounts had reached him that Glenco had taken the oaths, he expresses satisfaction that “the rebels” would not be able to oppose his designs, and as their chieftains were “all papists,” he thinks it would be well that vengeance fell upon them. The Macdonalds were chiefly marked out by him for destruction, and after saying that he could have wished that they “had not divided” on the question of taking the oath of indemnity, he expresses his regret to find that Keppoch and Glenco were safe.

That no time, however, might be lost in enforcing the penalties in the proclamation, now that the time allowed for taking the oath of allegiance had expired, instructions of rather an equivocal nature, signed and countersigned by the King on the eleventh of January, were sent down by young Stair to Sir Thomas Livingston on the same day, inclosed in a letter from the secretary of same date. By the instructions, Livingston was ordered “to march the troops against the rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, and to destroy them by fire and sword;” but lest such a course might render them desperate, he was *allowed* to “give terms and quarters, but in this manner only, that chieftains and heritors, or leaders, be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy, they taking the oath of allegiance; and the community taking the oath of allegiance, and rendering their arms, and submitting to the government, are to have quarters, and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers.” As a hint to Livingston how to act under the discretionary power with which these instructions vested him, Dalrymple says in his letter containing them, “I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glenco, and it is well that people are in mercy, and then just now my Lord Argyle tells me that Glenco hath not taken the oath, *at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlands.*”

The purport of this letter could not be misunderstood; but lest Livingston might not feel disposed to imbrue his hands in the blood of

* Letters to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, &c. 1st and 3d, Dec. 1691.

Glenco and his people, additional instructions bearing the date of sixteenth January, and also signed and countersigned by King William, were despatched to Livingston by the master of Stair, ordering him to extirpate the whole clan. In the letter containing these instructions, Dalrymple informs Livingston that "the king does not at all incline to receive any after the diet but in mercy," but he artfully adds, "but for a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose." Lest, however, Livingston might hesitate, a duplicate of these additional instructions * was sent at the same time by Secretary Dalrymple to Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort-William, with a letter of an import similar to that sent to Livingston. From the following extract it would appear that not only the earl of Breadalbane, but also the earl of Argyle, was privy to this infamous transaction. "The earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they (the Macdonalds of Glenco) shall have no retreat in their bounds, the passes to Rannoch would be secured, and the hazard certified to the laird of Weems to reset them; in that case Argyle's detachment with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker must cut them off."

Preparatory to putting the butchering warrant in execution, a party of Argyle's regiment, to the number of one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, was ordered to proceed to Glenco, and take up their quarters there, about the end of January or beginning of February. On approaching the Glen, they were met by John Macdonald the elder son of the chief, at the head of about twenty men, who demanded from Campbell the reason of his coming into a peaceful country with a military force: Glenlyon and two subalterns who were with him explained that they came as

* These instructions are as follow:

WILLIAM R.

16th January, 1692.

1. The copy of the paper given by Macdonald of Aughtera to you has been shown us. We did formerly grant passes to Buchan and Cannon, and we do authorize and allow you to grant passes to them, and ten servants to each of them, to come freely and safely to Leith; from that to be transported to the Netherlands before the 15th of March next, to go from thence where they please, without any stop or trouble.

2. We doe allow you to receive the submissions of Glengarry and those with him upon their taking the oath of allegiance and delivering up the house of Invergarry; to be safe as to their lives, but as to their estates to depend upon our mercy.

3. In case you find that the house of Invergarry cannot probably be taken in this season of the year, with the artillery and provision you can bring there; in that case we leave it to your discretion to give Glengarry the assurance of entire indemnity for life and fortune, upon delivering of the house and arms, and taking the oath of allegiance. In this you are to act as you find the circumstances of the affair do require; but it were much better that those who have not taken the benefit of our indemnity, in the terms within the diet prefix by our proclamation, should be obliged to render upon mercy. The taking the oath of allegiance is indispensable, others having already taken it.

4. If M'Ean of Glenco and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves. The double of these instructions is only communicated to Sir Thomas Livingston.

W. REX.

friends, and that their sole object was to obtain suitable quarters, where they could conveniently collect the arrears of cess and hearth-money,—a new tax laid on by the Scottish parliament in sixteen hundred and ninety,—in proof of which, Lieutenant Lindsay produced the instructions of Colonel Hill to that effect. The officers having given their parole of honour that they came without any hostile intentions, and that no harm would be done to the persons or properties of the chief and his tenants, they received a kindly welcome, and were hospitably entertained by Glenco and his family till the fatal morning of the massacre. Indeed, so familiar was Glenlyon, that scarcely a day passed that he did not visit the house of Alexander Macdonald the younger son of the chief, who was married to his niece, and take his “morning drink,” agreeably to the most approved practice of highland hospitality.

If Secretary Dalrymple imagined that Livingston was disinclined to follow his instructions he was mistaken, for immediately on receipt of them, he wrote Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had been fixed upon by the secretary to be the executioner, expressing his satisfaction that Glenco had not taken the oath within the period prescribed, and urging him now that a “fair occasion” offered for showing that his garrison served for some use, and as the order to him from the court was positive, not to spare any that had not come timeously in, and desiring that he would begin with Glenco, and spare nothing of what belongs to them, “but not to trouble the government with prisoners,” or in other words, to massacre every man, woman, and child. Hamilton, however, did not take any immediate steps for executing this inhuman order. In the meantime, the master of Stair was not inactive in inciting his blood-hounds to the carnage, and accordingly on the thirtieth of January, he wrote two letters, one to Livingston, and the other to Hill, urging them on. Addressing the former, he says, “I am glad Glenco did not come in within the time prefixed; I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together help. I think to harry (plunder) their cattle, and burn their houses is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours, but I believe you will be satisfied, it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off; it must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and their cattle. Argyle’s detachment lies in Lelrickweel, to assist the garrison to do all of a sudden.” And in his letter to Hill, he says, “Pray, when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now when there is force and opportunity, whereby the king’s justice will be as conspicuous and useful as his clemency to others. I apprehend the storm is so great that for some time you can do little, but so soon as possible I know you will be

at work, for these false people will do nothing, but as they see you in a condition to do with them."

In pursuance of these fresh instructions from the secretary, Hill, on the twelfth of February, sent orders to Hamilton, forthwith to execute the fatal commission, who, accordingly, on the same day, directed Major Robert Duncanson of Argyle's regiment to proceed immediately with a detachment of that regiment to Glenco, so as to reach the post which had been assigned him by five o'clock the following morning, at which hour Hamilton promised to reach another post with a party of Hill's regiment. Whether Duncanson was averse to take an active personal part in the bloody tragedy about to be enacted, is a question the solution of which would neither aggravate nor extenuate his guilt as a party to one of the foulest murders ever perpetrated in any age or country; but the probability is that he felt some repugnance to act in person, as immediately on receipt of Hamilton's order, he despatched another order from himself to Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, then living in Glenco, with instructions to fall upon the Macdonalds precisely at five o'clock the following morning, and put all to the sword under seventy years of age.*

* Colonel HILL's Order to Lieut.-Col. JAMES HAMILTON,

"Fort William, 12th Feb., 1692.

"Sir,

"You are, with four hundred of my regiment, and the four hundred of my Lord Argyle's regiment under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief. Given under my hand at Fort William, the 12th February 1692.

"J. HILL."

"To Lieut.-Col. James Hamilton."

Order from Lieut.-Col. HAMILTON to Major ROBERT DUNCANSON.

"Ballechyls, 12th Feb. 1692.

"Sir,

"Persuant to the commander-in-chief and my colonel's order to me for putting in execution the King's commands against those rebels of Glenco, wherein you with the party of the earl of Argyle's regiment under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore forthwith to order your affair so, as that the several posts already assigned you be by you and your several detachments fall in activeness precisely by five of the clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this regiment from the other places. It will be most necessary you secure well those avenues on the south side, that the old fox, nor none of his cubs get away. The orders are, that none be spared of the sword, nor the government troubled with prisoners; which is all until I see you from,

"Sir,

"Your most humble Servant,

"JAMES HAMILTONE."

"Please to order a guard to secure the ferry, and boats there; and the boats must be all on this side the ferry after your men are over.

"For their Majesty's service.

"To Major Robert Duncanson of the Earl of Argyle's Regt."

Campbell was a man fitted for every kind of villany, a monster in human shape, who, for the sake of lucre, or to gratify his revenge, would have destroyed his nearest and dearest friend; and who, with consummate treachery,

Could smile, and murder while he smiled.

With this sanguinary order in his pocket, he accordingly did not hesitate to spend the eve of the massacre at cards with John and Alexander Macdonald, the sons of the chief, to wish them good night at parting, and to accept an invitation from Glenco himself to dine with him the following day, although he had resolved to imbrue his hands in the blood of his kind hearted and unsuspecting host, his sons, and utterly to exterminate the whole clan within a few hours. Little suspecting the intended butchery, Glenco and his sons retired to rest at their usual hour; but early in the morning, while the preparations for the intended massacre were going on, John Macdonald, the elder son of the chief, hearing the sound of voices about his house, grew alarmed, and jumping out of bed threw on his clothes and went to Inveriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, to ascertain the cause of the unusual bustle which had interrupted his nocturnal slumbers. To his great surprise he found the soldiers all in motion, as if preparing for some enterprise, a circumstance which induced him to inquire at Captain Campbell the object of such extraordinary preparations at such an early hour. The anxiety with which young Macdonald pressed his question, indicating a secret distrust on his part, Campbell endeavoured by professions of friendship to lull his suspicions, and pretended that his sole design was to march against some of Glengarry's men. As John Macdonald, the younger son of Glenco, was married to Glenlyon's niece, that crafty knave referred to his connexion with the family of Glenco, and put it to the young man, whether if he intended any thing

Order from Major DUNCANSON to Captain ROBERT CAMPBELL of Glenlyon.

12th Feb. 1692.

"Sir,

"You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do not escape your hands; you are to secure all the avenues that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five of the clock precisely; and by that time, or very shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me but to fall on. This is by the King's special commands, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, or you may expect to be dealt with as one not true to king or government, nor as man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe this with my hand at Ballychylls, the 12th February, 1692.

'ROBERT DUNCANSON.'

hostile to the clan, he would not have provided for the safety of his niece and her husband. Macdonald, apparently satisfied with this explanation, returned home and retired again to rest, but he had not been long in bed when his servant, who, apprehensive of the real intentions of Glenlyon and his party, had prevented Macdonald from sleeping, informed him of the approach of a party of men towards the house. Jumping immediately out of bed he ran to the door, and perceiving a body of about twenty soldiers with muskets and fixed bayonets coming in the direction of his house, he fled to a hill in the neighbourhood, where he was joined by his brother Alexander, who had escaped from the scene of carnage, after being wakened from sleep by his servant.*

The massacre commenced about five o'clock in the morning at three different places at once. Glenlyon, with a barbarity which fortunately for society has few parallels, undertook to butcher his own hospitable landlord and the other inhabitants of Inverriggen, where he and a party of his men were quartered, and despatched Lieutenant Lindsay with another party of soldiers to Glenco's house to cut off the unsuspecting chief. Under the pretence of a friendly visit, he and his party obtained admission into the house. Glenco was in bed, and while in the act of rising to receive his cruel visitors, he was basely shot at by two of the soldiers, and fell lifeless into the arms of his wife. One ball

* This part of the account, which is taken from the Report of the Commission appointed by King William to inquire into the massacre, and is said to be grounded on the evidence of Glenco's sons, differs from that given in a letter from Edinburgh of date April 20th, 1692, written by "a gentleman in Scotland to his friend in London." According to this writer, Alexander Macdonald had been very distrustful of Glenlyon, and had watched him more carefully than even his father or brother, who allowed themselves, by his reiterated promises of friendship, to be lulled into a false security. Believing that Glenlyon had some bad design upon the clan, Alexander, the night previous to the massacre, placed himself in a retired place where, unobserved, he could watch the motions of Glenlyon's men. About midnight he perceived several soldiers enter the guard-house, an event which alarmed his suspicions so much, that he immediately went and communicated his apprehensions to his brother. But John Macdonald, the elder brother, at first derided these fears, and endeavoured to calm the mind of Alexander by asserting, that the party which he had seen enter the guard-house must have been intended either for strengthening the guard, from an apprehension of danger, or for relieving the sentinels oftener on account of the severity of the weather. But Alexander persisting in his suspicions, John arose from his bed and accompanied his brother to their father's bed-room. Although the old gentleman was not disposed to believe that any thing hostile was intended, he allowed his sons to watch the motions of the party. They, accordingly, went out, and from their knowledge of the localities approached, unperceived, a sentinel's post, where, instead of one, they observed no less than eight or ten men. This discovery made them still more inquisitive, and they crept so near, that they could hear one soldier say to his companions, "I do not like this work, and had I known of it I would not have come here, if only I had known of it a quarter of an hour before." He added, that he was willing to fight against the men of the glen, but he considered it base to murder them. The others replied, that the blame would rest on those who had given the orders, as they were bound to obey their officers. On hearing these words, the young men returned as quietly and quickly to the house as they could to inform their father of what they had heard; but on coming near the house, they found it surrounded by soldiers, heard firearms discharged and people shrieking. They had, therefore, no alternative but flight.

entered the back of his head, and another penetrated his body. The lady in the extremity of her anguish leapt out of bed and put on her clothes, but the ruffians stripped her naked, pulled the rings off her fingers with their teeth, and treated her so cruelly that she died the following day. The party also killed two men whom they found in the house, and wounded a third named Duncan Don, who came occasionally to Glenco with letters from Braemar.

While the butchery was going on in Glenco's house, Glenlyon was busily pursuing the same murderous course at Inverriggen, where his own host was shot by his order. Here the party seized nine men whom they first bound hand and foot, after which they shot them one by one. Glenlyon was desirous of saving the life of a young man about twenty years of age, but one Captain Drummond shot him dead. The same officer, impelled by a thirst for blood, ran his dagger through the body of a boy who had grasped Campbell by the legs, and who was supplicating for mercy. Glenlyon's party carried their cruelty even so far as to kill a woman, and a boy only four or five years old.

A third party under the command of one Sergeant Barker, which was quartered in the village of Auchnaion, fired upon a body of nine men whom they observed in a house in the village sitting before a fire. Among these was the laird of Auchintrincken, who was killed on the spot, along with four more of the party. This gentleman had at the time a protection in his pocket from Colonel Hill, which he had received three months before. The remainder of the party in the house, two or three of whom were wounded, escaped by the back of the house, with the exception of a brother of Auchintrincken, who having been seized by Barker, requested him as a favour not to despatch him in the house but to kill him without. The sergeant consented, because, as he said, he had experienced his kindness; but when brought out he threw his plaid, which he had kept loose, over the faces of the soldiers who were appointed to shoot him, and also escaped.

Besides the slaughter at these three places, there were some persons dragged from their beds and murdered in other parts of the Glen, among whom was an old man of eighty years of age. Between thirty and forty of the inhabitants of the Glen were slaughtered, and the whole male population under seventy years of age, amounting to two hundred, would have been cut off, if, fortunately for them, a party of four hundred men under Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who was principally charged with the execution of the sanguinary warrant, had not been prevented by the severity of the weather from reaching the Glen till eleven o'clock, six hours after the slaughter, by which time the whole surviving male inhabitants, warned of their danger and of the fate of their chief and the other sufferers, had fled to the hills. Ignorant of this latter circumstance, Hamilton, on arriving at Cannelochleven, appointed several parties to proceed to different parts of the Glen, with orders to take no prisoners, but to kill all the men that came

in their way. They had not, however, proceeded far when they fell in with Major Duncanson's party, by whom they were informed of the events of the morning, and who told them that as the survivors had escaped to the hills, they had nothing to do but to burn the houses, and carry off the cattle. They accordingly set fire to the houses, and having collected the cattle and effects in the Glen, they carried them to Inverlochry, where they were divided among the officers of the garrison. That Hamilton would have executed his commission to the very letter, is evident from the fact, that an old man, the only remaining male inhabitant of the desolate vale they fell in with, was put to death by his orders.

After the destruction of the houses, a scene of the most heart-rending description ensued. Ejected from their dwellings by the devouring element, aged matrons, married women and widowed mothers, with infants at their breasts and followed by children on foot, clinging to them with all the solicitude and anxiety of helplessness, were to be seen all wending their way, almost in a state of nudity, towards the mountains in a piercing snow-storm, in quest of some friendly hovel, beneath whose roof they might seek shelter from the pitiless tempest and deplore their unhappy fate. But as there were no houses within the distance of several miles, and as these could only be reached by crossing mountains deeply covered with snow, the greater part of these unhappy beings overcome by fatigue, cold, and hunger, dropt down and perished miserably among the snow.

While this brutal massacre struck terror into the hearts of the Jacobite chiefs, and thus so far served the immediate object of the government, it was highly prejudicial to King William, who was considered its chief author. In every quarter, even at court, the account of the massacre was received with horror and indignation, and the Jacobite party did not fail to turn the affair to good account against the government, by exaggerating, both at home and abroad, the barbarous details. The odium of the nation rose to such a pitch, that had the exiled monarch appeared at the head of a few thousand men, he would, probably, have succeeded in regaining his crown. The ministry, and even King William, grew alarmed, and to pacify the people he dismissed the Master of Stair from his councils, and appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the affair, and pretended that he had signed the order for the massacre among a mass of other papers, without knowing its contents. This is the only defence ever offered for King William, but it is quite unsatisfactory. For 1st, It is inconceivable that Secretary Dalrymple or any other minister, would have ventured to prepare such an extraordinary order without the express authority of his majesty, or would have obtained his signature to it without first acquainting him of its purport. 2d, The fact that neither Dalrymple nor any other minister was impeached for such an act, makes it extremely probable that William was privy to its contents. 3d, The unusual mode of signing and countersigning the order, would have made William desirous to know the im-

port of such a document, had he not been previously aware of its nature. 4th, His refusal or neglect to order the principal parties concerned in the massacre to be brought to trial, after the estates of parliament had addressed him for that purpose, and the fact of his promoting those guilty individuals in his service, show that he could not do so without implicating himself.

Though the nation had long desired an inquiry into this barbarous affair, it was not until the twenty-ninth day of April, sixteen hundred and ninety-five, upwards of three years after the massacre, that a commission was granted. A commission had indeed been issued in sixteen hundred and ninety-three appointing the duke of Hamilton and others to examine into the affair ; but this was a piece of mere mockery, and was never acted upon ; but it now became necessary to satisfy the call of the nation by instituting an investigation. The marquis of Tweeddale, lord high chancellor of Scotland, and the other commissioners now appointed, accordingly entered upon the inquiry, and, after examining witnesses and documents, drew up a report, which was subscribed at Holyrood-house, on the twentieth of June, and transmitted to his majesty. The commissioners appear to have executed their task with great fairness, but, anxious to palliate the conduct of the king, they gave a forced construction to the terms of the order, and threw the whole blame of the massacre upon Secretary Dalrymple. As the substance of this report has partly been embodied in the preceding narrative, it will be here only necessary to give the conclusions to which the commissioners arrived :—Upon the whole matter, they gave as their opinion, *first*, that it was a great wrong that Glenco's case and diligence, as to his taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlas's certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance on the sixth of January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, and Colonel Hill's letter to Ardkinlas, and Ardkinlas's letter to Colonel Campbell, sheriff-clerk, for clearing Glenco's diligence and innocence, were not presented to the lords of his majesty's privy-council when they were sent to Edinburgh in the month of January, and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glenco ; and that it was a farther wrong, that the certificate, as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, was deleted and obliterated after it came to Edinburgh ; and that being so obliterated, it should neither have been presented to, nor taken in by the clerk of the council : *secondly*, that it appeared to have been known in London, and particularly to the master of Stair, in the month of January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, though after the appointed day ; for he said in his letter, to Sir Thomas Livingstone, of the thirtieth of January, as above remarked : " I am glad that Glenco came not within the time prescribed : " *thirdly*, that there was nothing in the king's instructions to warrant the committing of the slaughter itself, and far less as to the manner of it, seeing all his instructions did plainly import, that the most obstinate of the rebels

might be received into mercy upon taking the oath of allegiance, though the day was long before elapsed ; and that he ordered nothing concerning Glenco and his tribe, "but that, if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves," an expulsion (say the commissioners) which plainly intimated, that it was his majesty's mind, that they could not be separated from the rest of these rebels, unless they still refused his mercy, by continuing in arms and refusing the oath of allegiance ; and that even in that case, they were only to be proceeded against in the way of public justice, and in no other way : *fourthly*, that Secretary Stair's letters, especially that of the eleventh January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, in which he rejoices to hear that Glenco had not taken the oath, and that of the sixteenth of January, of the same date with the king's additional instructions , and that of the thirtieth of the same month, were no ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the king's foresaid instructions, since the said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco-men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that, *suddenly*, and *secretly*, and *quietly*, and *all on a sudden*, which are the express terms of the said letters ; and comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appeared to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter, which in effect was a barbarous murder, perpetrated by the persons deponed against. And this was yet farther confirmed by two more of his letters, written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter was committed, viz. one on the fifth of March, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, wherein, after having said, "That there was much talk at London, that the Glenco-men were murdered in their beds, after they had taken the allegiance," he continues, "For the last I knew nothing of it ; I am sure neither you, nor any body impowered to treat or give indemnity, did give Glenco the oath ; and to take it from any body else after the diet elapsed, did import nothing at all ; all that I regrave is, that any of the sort got away, and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost." And another from the Hague, the last of April, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, wherein he says, "For the people of Glenco, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself by showing all your orders, which are now put in the Paris Gazette ; when you do right you need fear nobody ; all that can be said is, that in the execution it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been."

The commissioners appear to have discovered no evidence to implicate the earl of Breadalbane, but merely say, in reference to him, that it "was plainly deponed" before them, that, some days after the slaughter, a person waited upon Glenco's sons, and represented to them that he was sent by Campbell of Balcalden, the chamberlain or steward of the earl, and authorized to say, that, if they would declare, under their

hands, that his lordship had no concern in the slaughter, they might be assured the earl would procure their "remission and restitution." While the commissioners were engaged in this inquiry, they ascertained that, in his negotiations with the Highlanders, the earl had acted in such a way as to lay himself open to a charge of high treason, in consequence of which discovery, he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but he was soon liberated from confinement, as it turned out that he had professed himself a Jacobite, that he might the more readily execute the commission with which he had been intrusted, and that King William himself was a party to this contrivance.

The report of the commissioners was laid before the parliament of Scotland on the twenty-fourth of June, which, although it voted the execution of the Glenco-men to be a murder, resolved *nemine contradicente*, that the instructions contained in the warrant of the sixteenth of January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, did not authorize the massacre. After a variety of procedure at different sittings, "the committee for the security of the kingdom" was appointed to draw up an address to the king on the subject of the massacre, which being submitted to parliament on the tenth of July, was voted and approved of.

In this address the estates stated, that in the first place they had found that the Master of Stair's letters had exceeded his Majesty's instructions as to the killing and destruction of the Glenco-men—that this appeared by comparing the instructions and letters—that in these letters the Glenco-men were over and again distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, not as the fittest subjects of severity in case they continued obstinate, and made severity necessary according to the meaning of the instructions, but as men absolutely and positively ordered to be destroyed without any further consideration, than that of their not having taken the indemnity in due time, and that their not having taken it was valued as a happy incident, since it afforded an opportunity to destroy them—that the destroying of them was urged with a great deal of zeal, as a thing acceptable and of public use, and this zeal was extended even to the giving of directions about the manner of cutting them off; from all which it was plain that though the instructions were for mercy to all who would submit, though the day of indemnity had elapsed, yet the letters excluded the Glenco-men from this mercy.

The Parliament stated in the next place that they had examined the orders given by Sir Thomas Livingston in this matter, and were unanimously of opinion, that he had reason to give such orders for cutting off the Glenco-men, upon the supposition that they had rejected the indemnity, and without making them new offers of mercy, being a thing in itself lawful, which his majesty might have ordered; but it appearing that Sir Thomas was then ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the Glenco-men, he might very well have understood his majesty's instructions in the restricted sense, which the Master of Stair's letters had given them, or understood the Master of Stair's letters to be his ma-

jesty's additional pleasure, as it was evident he did from the orders which he gave.

They then inform his majesty that they next proceeded to examine Colonel Hill's part of the business, and that they were unanimous that he was clear and free from the slaughter of the Glenco-men ; for though his majesty's instructions, and the Master of Stair's letters were sent direct to him as well as to Livingston from London ; yet as he knew the particular circumstances of the Glenco-men, he avoided executing these instructions, and gave no orders in the matter, till finding that his Lieutenant-Colonel (Hamilton) had received orders to take with him four hundred men of his garrison and regiment, he, to save his own honour and authority, gave a general order to Hamilton to take the four hundred men, and put in due execution the orders which others had given him.

That as to Hamilton the parliament had required him to attend, but as he had not appeared, they had ordered him to be denounced, and to be seized wherever he could be found ; and that having considered the orders that he had received, and the orders which he admitted before the commission he had given, and his share in the execution, they had agreed that from what appeared he was not clear of the murder of the Glenco-men, and that there was ground to prosecute him for it.

As to Major Duncanson who had received his orders from Hamilton, they stated that as he and the persons to whom he had given instructions were absent in Flanders, and as they had not seen these orders, they had only resolved, in the meantime, to address his majesty either to cause him to be examined in Flanders about the orders he received, and his knowledge of the affair, or to order him home for trial.

The estates stated, in the last place, that the depositions of the witnesses being clear as to the share which Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsay, Ensign Lundy, and Sergeant Barker had in the massacre of the Glenco-men, upon whom they had been quartered, they had come to the conclusion that the said persons were the actors in the slaughter of the Glenco-men, and that they had agreed to address his majesty to send them home for trial for the said slaughter, according to law.

The estates, therefore, humbly prayed his majesty, " that, considering that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glenco-men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion, in a great measure, to so extraordinary an execution, by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise ; and considering the station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, we do therefore beg that your majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit. And, likewise, considering that the actors have barbarously killed men under trust, we humbly desire your majesty would be pleased to send the actors home, and to give orders to your advocate to prosecute them according

to law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your government from so foul and scandalous an aspersion, as it has lain under upon this occasion."

As the surviving inhabitants of the glen had been reduced to great poverty and distress by the destruction of their property, and as they had conducted themselves with great moderation under their misfortunes, the estates solicited his majesty to order reparation to be made to them for the losses they had sustained in their properties. Whether the "royal charity and compassion" (how misapplied are these words when used in the present instance) invoked by the estates in behalf of these unfortunate people were ever exercised does not appear; but it is highly probable, that this part of the address was as little heeded as the rest. The murderers, instead of being brought to trial, were allowed by William to remain in his service, and some of them were even promoted; but what justice could be expected from a government which had the audacity to bestow a pension upon the most perjured villain that ever trod the earth—the infamous Titus Oates! In fact, the whole matter was hushed up by William and his ministers, and the report of the Scottish Parliament, though drawn up as favourably for the king as possible, was carefully suppressed during his lifetime, a pretty sure indication that they were afraid to court a scrutiny into one of the most revolting and barbarous occurrences that ever disgraced any government.*

* The following extraordinary anecdote is given by General Stewart (Sketches, Vol. I.) in reference to the punishment which, in the opinion of the Highlanders,—an opinion in perfect accordance with the Decalogue,—awaits the descendants of the oppressor. "The belief that punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual, descended as a curse on his children to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, believing that if the curse did not fall upon the first, or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of Marines. He was grandson of the laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glenco; and who lived in the laird of Glenco's house, where he and his men were hospitably received as friends, and entertained a fortnight before the execution of his orders. He was playing at cards with the family when the first shot was fired, and the murderous scene commenced. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half pay. He then entered the Marines, and in 1762 was major, with the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and commanded eight hundred of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling

out the packet the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

"The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, 'The curse of God and of Glenco is here, I am an unfortunate ruined man.' He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced. Nor is the massacre and the judgment which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity, this is not the case with the family, posterity, and estates, of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this black affair."

The same author, to illustrate the force of principle, when founded on a sense of honour and its consequent influence, relates another anecdote in reference to this massacre, which also deserves to be here repeated. When the army of Prince Charles, in the ranks of which were Macdonald of Glenco, the descendant of the murdered chief, and all his followers, lay at Kirkliston in the year 1745, near the seat of the earl of Stair, the grandson of Secretary Dalrymple, who took such a prominent part in the massacre, the prince, anxious to save the house and property of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all excitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending their true character, proposed that the Glenco-men should be marched to a distance from Lord Stair's house and parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had had in the order for extirpating the whole clan, should now excite a spirit of revenge. When the proposal was communicated to the Glenco-men, they declared that, if that was the case, they must return home. If they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause; and it was not without much explanation, and great persuasion, that they were prevented from marching away the following morning."

CHAPTER XI.

The Darien Company—Its Progress and Suppression—Death of the young Duke of Gloucester—Hopes of the Jacobites—Act of Succession passed—Death of James II.—His character—Death and character of King William—Accession of the Princess Anne—Proceedings in the Scottish Parliament—Conspiracy of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat—Struggles in the Scottish Parliament about the succession—Nomination of Commissioners to treat about a Union with England—Ferment in Scotland against the Union—Hooke's negotiation—Preparations in France for invading Scotland—Sailing of the French fleet with the Chevalier de St George—Unsuccessful result of the expedition—State of Scotland—Proceedings of the Jacobites—Death of Queen Anne.

To allay the excitement which the massacre of Glenco had created in the minds of the people against the government, advantage was taken by William and his ministers, of a scheme proposed by Paterson, the celebrated projector, for establishing a company in Scotland for trading to Africa and the Indies; by countenancing which, they expected not only to stifle inquiry into the massacre, but also to engage the Scottish nation to support the measures of the government.

Accordingly, the commissioner to the Scottish parliament was ordered by the king to declare, "That if the members found it would tend to the advancement of trade, that an act should be passed for the encouragement of such as should acquire and establish a plantation in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where plantations might be lawfully acquired, his majesty was willing to grant to the subjects of this kingdom, in favour of these plantations, such rights and privileges as he granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions." Pursuant to this declaration, an act was passed, establishing a company for trading to the East and West Indies, with a variety of important privileges, and so eager were the nobility and gentry of Scotland for the success of a concern which appeared to promise many national advantages, that they advanced £400,000 to promote the undertaking. As the greater part of the isthmus of Darien or Panama had not yet been colonized, and as its situation was peculiarly calculated for carrying on trade with both the Indies, Paterson fixed upon it as the headquarters of his commercial association, which thence took the name of the Darien company.

No sooner, however, was the scheme promulgated, than a spirit of opposition was raised against it by the English House of Commons, in-

stigated by the English East India company, which came to a resolution, that the directors of the Darien company had, by administering and taking “an oath *de fide*li, and, under colour of a Scotch act of parliament, styling themselves a company, and acting as such, and raising monies in this kingdom (England), for carrying on the said company,” been “guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor.” Yet notwithstanding this direct attack upon the company, such was the favour in which it was held in England, that a sum of £300,000 was subscribed there, of which a fourth part was paid down; and even the merchants of Hamburg offered to embark £200,000 in the undertaking. But the Darien company might have surmounted the opposition of the house of commons and the English East India company, had not the Dutch East India company—a body remarkable for its monopolizing character—also joined in the outcry against the Scottish enterprise. Intent upon their object, the directors of the company, in spite of every opposition, made the necessary preparations for taking possession of the intended settlement, and accordingly fitted out an expedition of five ships and twelve hundred men, which set sail from Leith roads on the seventeenth day of July, sixteen hundred and ninety-eight. The greater part of the men who went out consisted of veterans, who had served in King William’s wars, and the remainder consisted of Highlanders and others who had been opposed to the revolution, and about three hundred gentlemen of family, desirous of trying their fortunes. The expedition arrived on the coast in the beginning of November, and disembarked at a harbour near Golden island, between Portobello and Carthagena. The new settlers were well received by the inhabitants, and as matters began to look well, the most favourable anticipations were entertained of the success of the enterprise; but the colonists had soon the mortification to find that the king had given way to the clamours of the two great English and Dutch rival companies, which he had resolved to gratify at the expense of the Darien company. In fact they soon found that proclamations, by order of William, had been issued by the governors of Jamaica and the English settlements in America, prohibiting under the severest penalties, all intercourse with the Scottish settlers, or assisting them in any shape; in consequence of which, they were obliged to abandon the settlement for want of provisions and other necessaries. A second expedition shared a similar fate, and a third much better provided and more numerous than either the first or second capitulated to the Spaniards.

When accounts of the ruin of the colony reached Scotland, a feeling of universal dismay seized the nation, as if its only happiness in future was to have consisted in the fulfilment of those golden dreams which had floated in the vivid imaginations of the sanguine adventurers. Thousands of families, once in comparative opulence, now found themselves reduced to ruin, and the flower of the nation was either languishing in prison in the Spanish settlements, or starving in

the English colonies. To the bitterness of disappointment succeeded an implacable hostility to the king, who was denounced, in pamphlets of the most violent and inflammatory tendency, as a hypocrite, and as the deceiver of those who had shed their best blood in his cause, and as the author of all the misfortunes which had befallen Scotland. One of these pamphlets was voted by the house of commons a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the common executioner, and an address was voted to his majesty to issue a proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the obnoxious publication; but although the proclamation was issued, no apprehension followed. The king was so chagrined at the conduct of the Scotch that he refused to see Lord Basil Hamilton, who had an address to present to his majesty from the company, praying for his interference on behalf of their servants who were kept in captivity by the Spaniards. He, however, desired the Scottish secretaries to intimate to the company that he would attend to their request, and would endeavour to promote the trade of Scotland; but unsatisfied with such a declaration, the directors of the company requested the lord-chancellor of Scotland, then in London, to urge his majesty to receive Lord Basil Hamilton. Seeing no way of evading the importunity of the company, and neutralizing the ferment which prevailed in Scotland, the king threw himself upon the English parliament. A motion, that the settlement of the Scottish colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade in England, was carried in the house of lords in favour of the ministers, after a warm debate, by a small majority. An address to his majesty was then voted by the lords, in accordance with this resolution, in which, after declaring their sympathy with their fellow-subjects for their losses, they approved of the prohibitory orders which his majesty had sent to the governors of the plantations. The house of commons, however, refused to concur in this address, chiefly, it is believed, from an antipathy entertained by a majority of the house at the Dutch, on account of the predilection shown by the king on all occasion to his countrymen. In his answer to the address of the lords, the king having recommended a union of the two kingdoms as a measure eminently calculated for the good of both countries, a bill was introduced into the house of lords, appointing commissioners to treat with commissioners from Scotland about a union; but this bill was rejected by the commons from sheer opposition to the court.

In direct contradiction to the house of lords, the Scottish parliament voted that the colony of Darien was a lawful and rightful settlement which they would support; a resolution which induced the duke of Queensberry, the commissioner, to prorogue the session. But this step only tended to increase the discontents of the nation; and, to show the king that the people would be no longer trifled with, an address to his majesty, containing a detail of national grievances, and representing the

necessity of calling an immediate meeting of parliament, was drawn up and signed by a considerable number of the members; and a deputation, with Lord Ross at its head, was appointed to present the address to the king. His majesty, however, evaded the address, by informing the deputation that they would be made acquainted in Scotland with his intentions; and, as if to show his displeasure, he ordered the parliament to be adjourned by proclamation.

Exasperated at this attempt to stifle the just complaints of the nation, the promoters of the first address began to prepare a second one, to be signed by the shires and burghs of the kingdom. But before this new address was completed, the king, by the advice of the duke of Queensberry, wrote a letter to him and the privy council for the purpose of allaying the national ferment, and which they immediately published. Although in this letter the king regretted the loss which the people of Scotland had sustained, and assured them that he had their interest at heart, and that they should soon have convincing proofs of his inclination to promote the wealth and prosperity of Scotland, and that his intended absence from England had obliged him to adjourn the parliament, which he promised to convene on his return; yet, as William's sincerity was doubted—the people wisely judging that the explanation was a mere state expedient—the national excitement was increased instead of being diminished, by the promulgation of the letter.

The Scottish nation was now fully ripe for a rebellion, but neither James nor his advisers had the capacity to avail themselves of passing events, to snatch the tottering crown from the head of the illustrious foreigner, who was destined to be the happy instrument of placing the liberties of the nation upon a more sure and permanent footing than they had hitherto been. The hopes of the Jacobites were, however, greatly raised by the jarings between the king and his Scottish subjects, and an event occurred, about this time, which tended still farther to strengthen them. This was the death of the young duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the princess Anne, who died of a malignant fever, on the twenty-ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred, in the eleventh year of his age. As the Jacobites considered that the duke stood chiefly in the way of the accession of the prince of Wales to the crown, they could not conceal their pleasure at an occurrence which seemed to pave the way for the restoration of the exiled family, and they privately despatched a trusty adherent to France to assure King James that they would settle the succession upon the prince of Wales. Such a proposition had indeed been made by William himself at an interview he had with Louis XIV. in sixteen hundred and ninety-seven, when a prospect opened of James being elected king of Poland on the death of John Sobieski; but this proposal was rejected by James, who told the king of France, that though he could bear with patience the usurpation of his nephew and son-in-law, he would not allow his own son to commit such an act of injustice; that

by permitting his son to reign while he (James) was alive, he would, in fact, be held as having renounced his crown, and that the prince of Wales would also be held as having resigned his own right, if he accepted the crown as successor to the prince of Orange. As James had now given up all idea of a crown, and was wholly engrossed with the more important concerns of a future life, it is probable that he received the proposal of his friends in a very different spirit from that he evinced when made by William.

The designs of the Jacobites, however, were frustrated by the intrigues of the princess Sophia, electress and dutchess dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter of King James VI., who had for several years contemplated the plan of getting the succession to the English crown settled upon her and her heirs. An act was accordingly passed by the English parliament in June, seventeen hundred and one, at the desire of the king, whom the princess had prevailed upon to espouse her cause, declaring her to be the next in succession to the crown of England, after his majesty and the princess Anne, in default of issue of their bodies respectively, and that after the decease of William and Anne respectively without issue, the crown and government of England should remain and continue to the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants. This act, which, by one fell swoop, cut off the whole catholic descendants of James the First, of whom there were forty then alive, all nearer heirs to the crown than the princess, gave great offence to all the catholic princes concerned in the succession; but the dutchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles I., the next in the line of succession after the family of King James II., alone openly asserted her right, by ordering her ambassador, Count Maffei, to protest in her name against every act of the English parliament tending to deprive her of her hereditary right to the crown. The count, accordingly, drew up a protest, two copies of which were delivered to the lord-keeper and the speaker of the house of commons, by two gentlemen in presence of a notary; but no notice being taken of the matter in parliament, it was altogether overlooked.

The act of settlement in favour of the princess Sophia and her heirs, was a death-blow to the Jacobite interest, but still the hopes of the party were not extinguished. As James had given up all idea of dispossessing William, and even discountenanced any attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom during his own life-time, the partizans of his family had given up every expectation of his restoration. But the death of King James, which took place at St Germain's on the sixteenth of September, seventeen hundred and one, and the recognition of his son by Louis XIV. as king, were events which opened up brighter prospects than they had yet enjoyed. The unfortunate monarch had, for several years, taken farewell of worldly objects, and had turned his whole attention to the concerns of eternity, setting an example to all around him of Christian humility and of calm resignation to the will of Providence. Ardently attached

to the creed which, from principle, he had embraced, he conjured his son in his last illness, rather to forego the splendours of a crown and every worldly advantage, than renounce his religion; and while he declared that he heartily forgave all those who had injured him, he recommended to his son the practice of Christian forgiveness and justice. Of the arbitrary and unconstitutional conduct of James, at the period preceding the revolution, it is impossible for any lover of genuine liberty to speak without feelings of indignation; but it must not be forgotten, that in his time the prerogatives of the crown were not clearly defined, and that he was misled by evil counsellors, who, to effect his ruin, advised him to violate the existing constitution.

Nothing but the prospect of an immediate war with England could, it is believed, have induced Louis to recognise, as he did, the prince of Wales as king of England, Ireland, and Scotland. William remonstrated against this act of the French king, as a violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and appealed to the king of Sweden, as the guarantee for its observance; but Louis was inflexible, and maintained in the face of all Europe, that he was not debarred by the treaty from acknowledging the title of the prince of Wales, to which he had right by birth. He admitted that by the fourth article of the treaty he was bound not to disturb William in the possession of his dominions, and he declared his intention to adhere to that stipulation; but this explanation was considered quite unsatisfactory by William, who recalled his ambassador from Paris. The conduct of the French king excited general indignation in England, and addresses were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, expressive of attachment to the government. The English parliament passed two separate acts of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales, as the son of James was termed, and the queen, his mother, who acted as regent. Great preparations were made for entering into a war with France, and William had concerted with his allies the plan of a campaign, but he did not live to see the gigantic schemes which he had devised for humbling the pride of France put into execution. He expired at Kensington on the eighth day of March, seventeen hundred and two, in consequence of a fall from his horse, on the twenty-first day of February preceding, which fractured his collar-bone. He reigned thirteen years, and was in the fifty-second year of his age.

In person, William was of the middle stature; his body was slender, and his constitution delicate. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave, solemn aspect. He was extremely reserved in conversation, and, when he did speak, his conversation was dry and uninteresting. Naturally grave and phlegmatic, he never showed any symptoms of fire or animation except on the day of battle, when he was all life and energy. Sullen in his disposition, he was an utter stranger to the tender sympathies, and dead to every warm and generous emotion. His ruling passion was ambition, to gratify which he did not scruple to adopt means the most unworthy—to disregard the

ties of kindred—and to sacrifice the interests of the country which had adopted him.

The accession of the princess Anne gave satisfaction to all parties, particularly to the Jacobites, who imagined, now that she had no heirs of her own body, that she would be induced to concur with them in getting the succession act repealed, so as to make way for her brother, the prince of Wales. At first the queen seemed disposed to throw herself into the hands of the Tory faction, at the head of which was the earl of Rochester, first cousin to the queen, who was averse to a war with France; but the earl, afterwards the celebrated duke of Marlborough, his rival, succeeded, through the intrigues of his countess, in altering the mind of her majesty, and war was accordingly declared against France on the fourth day of May.

The Scottish parliament, which under a late act should have met within twenty days after the death of the king, did not, however, assemble till three months thereafter, the queen having deferred the meeting by repeated adjournments. The Scottish ministry, who were all of the revolution party, probably afraid of the result of an election, were anxious for the continuance of the parliament; but the Jacobite party, at the head of which was the duke of Hamilton, who, as earl of Arran, had suffered for his loyalty to King James, was desirous of a new parliament. The parliament, to which the duke of Queensberry was appointed commissioner, met on the ninth day of June; but before his commission was read, the duke of Hamilton objected to the legality of the meeting, the parliament having been virtually dissolved, as he maintained, by not having met within the statutory period; and having taken a formal protest against its proceedings, he withdrew from the house, followed by seventy-nine members of the first rank in the kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the people. The seceding members, thereupon, sent up Lord Blantyre to London with an address to the queen, but she refused to see him. This refusal highly displeased the people, whose resentment was still farther increased by a prosecution raised by the lord advocate against the faculty of advocates, for having, by a vote, approved of the secession and address. Several acts were passed by the parliament, one of the most important of which was that which authorized the queen to name commissioners for negotiating a treaty of union with England. An attempt was made by the earl of Marchmont, the lord-chancellor, (better known as Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth) without any instructions from his colleagues, and even contrary to the advice of the commissioner, to alter the succession, by bringing in a bill similar to that which had passed in England for abjuring the prince of Wales, and settling the succession on the princess Sophia and her heirs; but as the ministry had no instructions from the queen, the bill was not supported. It is not improbable that Marchmont intended, by the introduction of this measure, to sound the disposition of the queen in regard of her brother.

The queen, by virtue of the powers conferred on her by the parliaments of England and Scotland, named commissioners to treat about a union, who accordingly met at the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the twenty-second day of October; but after some of the preliminaries had been adjusted, the conference broke off, in consequence of the Scottish commissioners insisting that all the rights and privileges of the Darien company should be preserved and maintained.

A partial change in the Scottish ministry having taken place, the queen resolved upon calling a new parliament, in the spring of seventeen hundred and three, previous to which, she issued an act of indemnity in favour of every person who had taken any part against the government since the revolution, and allowed such of them as were abroad to return home. Under the protection of this amnesty many of the Jacobites returned to Scotland, and took the oaths to the government, in the hope of forwarding the interest of the prince of Wales. At this time Scotland was divided into three parties. The first consisted of the revolutionists, who were headed by the duke of Argyle. The second of what was called the country party, who were opposed to the union, and who insisted on indemnification for the losses sustained in the Darien speculation, and satisfaction for the massacre of Glencoe and other grievances suffered in the late reign. The duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweeddale took the direction of this party. The last, called Mitchell's club, from the house they met in, was composed entirely of the Jacobites or Cavaliers. These were headed by the earl of Home.* The two latter parties, by coalescing at the elections, might have returned a majority favourable to their views; but the earl of Seafield, who had succeeded the earl of Marchmont as chancellor, had the address to separate the Jacobites from the country party, and, by making them believe that he was their friend, prevailed upon them to throw their interest at the elections into the scale of the government. The parliament, however, which met on the sixth of May, was not so pliable to ministerial dictation as might have been expected, for although the royal assent was refused to what was called the act of security for limiting the power of the crown "this session of parliament, (to use the words of Lockhart,) did more for redressing the grievances and restoring the liberties of the nation than all the parliaments since the year 1660."† It was in this parliament that the celebrated patriot, Fletcher of Salton, first distinguished himself.‡ The earl of Marchmont again brought in

* Lockhart Papers, Vol. I. p. 58.

† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 71.

‡ The following is the character of this patriot, from the pen of Lockhart, a stern Jacobite, and of course no way prejudiced in his favour:—"The thoughts of England's domineering over Scotland, was what his generous soul could not do away with. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under, galled him to the heart; so that in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentleman, and was so stedfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage, no, not the universal empire, nor the gold of America, could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm that, in all his life, he never once pursued a

his bill for settling the crown of Scotland upon the house of Hanover; but such was the indignation with which the proposal was received by the house, that some of the members proposed that the bill should be burnt, while others moved that the proposer of the measure should be committed to the castle of Edinburgh. On a division the bill was thrown out by a very large majority.

After the prorogation of the parliament, the courtiers and the heads of the cavaliers repaired to London to pay court to the queen, who received them kindly, and conferred marks of her favour upon some of them. The marquis of Athole, in particular, who aspired to be leader of the Jacobites, was made a duke, and invested with the dignity of a knight of the order of the thistle, which she had just revived to enable her to extend the royal favour. Her policy seems to have been to gain over all parties to her interest; but she was soon made to believe that a conspiracy existed against her among the cavaliers to supersede her, and to place her brother upon the throne.

According to Lockhart, this was a sham plot, got up by the duke of Queensberry, with the special advice and consent of the duke of Argyle, and the earls of Stair and Leven, and Mr Carstairs, a presbyterian minister, and one of her majesty's chaplains, to ruin the cavaliers and the country party, in revenge for the opposition they had made to him in the last session of parliament, and to prevent these

measure with the prospect of any by-end to himself, nor farther than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning; and, as he was universally accomplished, he employed his talents for the good of mankind. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and his word sacred; as brave as his sword, and had some experience in the art of war, having, in his younger years, been some time a volunteer in both the land and sea service. In his travels he had studied, and came to understand, the respective interests of the several princes and states of Europe. In his private conversation, affable to his friends, (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country,) and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension, but so extremely wedded to his own opinions, that there were few, (and those too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion,) he could endure to reason against him, and did for the most part, so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, (which was frequently very singular,) that he'd break with his party, before he'd alter the least jot of his scheme and maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of men, that did not give themselves up to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points. And thence it came to pass, that he often in parliament acted a part by himself, tho' in the main he stuck close to the country party, and was their Cicero. He was, no doubt, an enemy to all monarchical governments, at least thought they wanted to be much reformed; but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the Union was so great, in revenge to them, he'd have sided with the Royal family; but as that was a subject not fit to be entered upon with him, this is only a conjecture from some inuendo's I have heard him make; but so far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high-flying Tories, more than any other set of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour, integrity, and ingenuity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way, well accomplished gentleman; and, if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy, as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded, by obtaining the character of being like Andrew Fletcher of Salton."—*Papers*, Vol. I., p. 77.

parties from ever again thwarting his plans. That, in pursuance of this determination, he had pitched upon Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards so well known as the Lord Lovat, who suffered for the part he acted in the rebellion of seventeen hundred and forty-five, as a fit instrument for effecting his design. Fraser had fled the country in consequence of a sentence of death pronounced against him in absence by the court of justiciary, for an alleged rape upon the person of the lady dowager Lovat, sister of the duke of Athole, and had retired to France; but, on account of his reputed crime, and the sentence of outlawry pronounced against him, he was debarred by King James, during his life, from appearing at the court of St Germain's. Being sent for from France by Queensberry, he returned to Scotland; but, knowing the object for which he was wanted, he had the address before leaving France, by imposing upon Louis, to whom he was introduced by the pope's nuncio, to obtain from the widow of King James, acting as regent for her son, a commission of Major-General, with power to raise and command forces in his behalf. As the court of St Germain's had some suspicion of Fraser's integrity, Captain John Murray, brother of Mr Murray of Abercarnie, and Captain James Murray, brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, were sent over to Scotland, under the protection of Queen Anne's indemnity, as a check upon him, and to sound the dispositions of the people.

On arriving on the borders of Scotland, Fraser was met by the duke of Argyll, who conducted him to Edinburgh, where he was kept private till he should receive instructions from the duke of Queensberry how to act. After obtaining his instructions, and a pass from the duke to protect him against letters of fire and sword, which had been issued against him during the reign of King William, he set off for the Highlands, introduced himself into the society of the adherents of the exiled family, and, by producing his commission of major-general, induced some of them to give him assurances that they would rise in arms when required, though they regretted that such a character should have been intrusted with such an important command. Others, however, apprehensive of his real designs, refused to hold any intercourse with him on the subject of his mission. He, thereafter, went to London to report to his patrons the progress he had made, who, finding that he had not been able to entrap some of the persons they intended to insnare, sent him back to France to endeavour to procure letters from the court of St Germain's to the dukes of Hamilton and Athole, the earls of Seafield and Cromarty, and the leading Jacobite chiefs. To conceal his journey from the ministry, the duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him from the earl of Nottingham, the English secretary, under a fictitious name; but, before Fraser reached Paris, the whole pretended plot was brought to light by a gentleman of the name of Ferguson, with whom he had tampered. The duke of Athole being made acquainted by Ferguson with the discovery he had made,

immediately laid a state of the matter before the queen, who had been previously apprised of the conspiracy by the duke of Queensberry; and the duke being called upon for an explanation, excused himself by saying that, when Fraser came to Scotland, he had received a written communication from Fraser informing him that he could make important discoveries relative to designs against the queen's government, in proof of which he delivered him a letter from the queen dowager at St Germain's, addressed to L—— M——, which initials Fraser informed him were meant for Lord Murray, now marquis of Athole, and that, after seeing him, he had given him a protection in Scotland, and procured a pass for him in England to enable him to follow out further discoveries.

When this pretended conspiracy became publicly known it excited considerable sensation, and the house of lords immediately resolved that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the matter; but the queen, who was already well acquainted with the circumstances, sent them a message, intimating, that as the affair was already under investigation, she was desirous that the house should not interfere, and she promised in a short time to inform them of the result. Accordingly, on the seventeenth day of December, she went to the house of peers, and made a speech to both houses, informing them that she had complete evidence of evil practices and designs against her government, carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. After thanking her majesty for the information she had given, the peers persisting in their resolution for an inquiry, appointed a select committee by ballot; but this proceeding was resented by the commons as a violation of the laws of the land, and as an improper interference with the prerogative of the crown, and they voted an address to the queen accordingly. The upper house in its turn resented with indignation the conduct of the commons, and voted that the address of the commons was unparliamentary and groundless, and highly injurious to the house of peers. They followed up this resolution by a remonstrance to the queen, in which they justified their interference in the affair of the conspiracy, and expressed great zeal and affection for her majesty. The peers proceeded in the inquiry, and after considerable investigation they agreed to the following resolution, "that there had been a dangerous conspiracy in Scotland toward the invading that kingdom with a French power, in order to subvert her majesty's government, and the bringing in the pretended prince of Wales; that it was their opinion nothing had given so much encouragement to these designs as the succession of the crown of Scotland not being declared in favour of the Princess Sophia and her heirs; that the queen should be addressed to use such methods as she thought convenient, for having the succession of the crown of that kingdom settled after that manner; and that being once done, then they would do all in their power to promote an entire union of the two kingdoms." Mr Lockhart asserts that the lords thus interfered at the instance of

the duke of Queensberry, as he knew that the Whigs would bring him off, and although they were so clear as to the existence of a plot, he maintains that "it was all trick and villany." Meanwhile Fraser, for his imposition upon the French king, was committed a prisoner to the Bastile, in which he remained several years.*

Lord Lovat, in his memoirs, gives a very different version of this affair from that furnished by Mr Lockhart. After denying in the most pointed manner the crime for which he was outlawed, he states that on his arrival at St Germain, he addressed himself to his cousin, Sir John Maclean, the chief of the Macleans, who introduced him to Lord Perth—that that nobleman received him with open arms, and introduced him to King James in presence of the queen and the young prince—that his majesty complained to him of the conduct of the Athole family, and acknowledged the obligations he lay under to the family of Lovat—that King James having advised him to make his peace with the reigning government, to save his clan, he returned to London, and that not having been able to obtain a reversal of the outlawry before King William's departure for Loo, his favourite residence, followed him thither, with a letter of recommendation from the duke of Argyle to Carstairs, the chaplain, who had much influence with his royal master. The king was induced to give Lovat the most "unlimited pardon," and he immediately despatched his cousin Simon, son of David Fraser of Brac, to get the great seal of Scotland affixed to it; but for some reason or other the pardon was suppressed, and another pardon passed the seals limited to Lovat's treachery against the king and government. Having, he says, after the accession of Queen Anne, visited the chiefs of the clans and some of the Jacobite Scottish peers, he engaged them to grant him a general commission on their part to go to France and to announce to the court of St Germain that they were ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the exiled family, and to require that the young prince might be sent over with an officer to command the Jacobite forces.

Lovat says that he arrived at Paris about the month of September, seventeen hundred and two, and sent an express to Sir John Maclean to St Germain, to meet him; and that he thereafter went to court, and was introduced to Lord Perth, to whom he explained the object of his mission. The plan was, however, ruined by the earl of Middleton, who undermined Lovat at court, a circumstance which made him resolve to return to Scotland, but he was induced by Cardinal Gualterio and the Marquis de Torcy to remain. He then obtained, through the interest of Madame de Maintenon and others, a private interview with the king of France, who promised to assist him in his enterprise. Provided with an ample commission from the young king, Lovat left France for England, but he had been anticipated on his journey by James Murray,

* Lockhart, vol. I. pp. 78—83.

brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, who had been privately sent by the earl of Middleton to inform the government of Lovat's proceedings. On his arrival in Scotland Lovat found that the Scottish privy council, in expectation of his coming, had a month before issued a proclamation to take him dead or alive, had fixed a price upon his head, and had prohibited all persons under pain of death from holding any intercourse with him in word or writing. He, however, proceeded on his journey, and had interviews with the heads of the clans, and the principal Jacobite nobility, all of whom he asserts promised their services. A council of war was afterwards held in Drummond castle, at which the chiefs of the clans were for taking up arms immediately, but Lord Drummond having objected to the proposal till succours should arrive from France, and a commander appointed, the consideration of the matter was deferred for some months, and in the meantime Lovat was directed to return to France without delay, and to demand the necessary supplies.

Before setting out for France, Lovat says he was induced, by Lord Drummond and Captain John Murray, the latter of whom had accompanied him to Scotland, and was desirous of remaining in the country to concert measures with the duke of Gordon and other noblemen attached to the cause of King James; to wait upon the dukes of Argyle and Queensberry, and the earl of Leven, "to amuse them with a fictitious account of their journey," and to entreat them to give no trouble to Mr Murray, who had come to Scotland merely to visit his relations and friends. At meeting, Queensberry informed Lovat that he was fully aware of the object of his visit, which had been fully explained to him by Captain James Murray, who had discovered to him the whole plan of the proposed insurrection, and that he was also aware of all Lovat's proceedings in the north. Queensberry added, that he did not mean to put any questions to him upon that subject, but to ask a favour from him by informing him whether there was any truth in the report that the dukes of Athole and Hamilton had, at the very time they were displaying an officious zeal in the service of the government, corresponded with the court of St Germain's. On receiving the duke's assurance that Captain Murray should be protected, Lovat informed him that both Hamilton and Athole were the most faithful friends and servants of King James, that Captain James Murray had brought over commissions for them from the court of St Germain's; and that they had promised to take up arms at a very early period, and to put themselves at the head of the whole Jacobite party in order to restore the king. This "pretended discovery," Lovat says, had no foundation, as he had been assured by the laird of Fintry, that Hamilton was no friend of the exiled family, and that he even aspired to the crown himself; and as to Athole it was notorious that he was "the incorrigible enemy of King James."

The duke of Queensberry was overjoyed at this "chimerical discovery," by which he hoped to effect the ruin of two noblemen, who,

he said, "had for a long time endeavoured to deprive him of estate, reputation, and life," and made a thousand professions of friendship to Lord Lovat. He offered to make his peace with Queen Anne, to obtain a regiment for him and a considerable pension, and to make him chief-justiciary and commandant of the county in which the estates of Lovat lay ; but if we are to believe Lovat, he declined these magnificent offers, being obliged in honour and conscience to return to France, and to carry on the project in which he was engaged. Before taking leave, Lovat promised that if the duke would favour him with a passport, to enable him to return immediately to France, he would furnish him, in due time, with a particular account of Hamilton and Athole's engagements with the court of St Germain's, which would enable him to ruin both these noblemen at the court of London. The duke, not suspecting any deceit, granted a passport to Lovat upon the spot, written and signed by himself as the queen's representative in Scotland, to enable him to proceed in safety from Edinburgh to London. On the following day Lord Drummond and Captain Murray arrived in Edinburgh, who, on being informed by Lovat of the manner he had conducted himself in his interview with the duke, approved of what he had done, and even applauded the dexterity with which he had delivered himself from an imminent and unforeseen danger. As both Hamilton and Athole were regarded by Lovat as "impostors" and enemies of the exiled family, he considered that his conduct, in thus attempting to ruin them, "far from being a real crime, ought to be regarded as a good and essential service to the king (James III.), and the sincere, political, and ingenious fruit of his zeal, for his project, and the interests of his sovereign."* Such is a specimen of the morality of this extraordinary personage, who, in his correspondence with the revolution party, always pretended to be a friend to the revolution settlement.

Alluding to Lockhart's account of the conspiracy, Lovat says, "The design of the author is sufficiently evident. His book is entirely calculated to undermine the reputation, the interests, and the lives of the dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, and the earl of Leven, the most formidable enemies of his party ; and to give to the world, as undoubted realities, the dark inventions of the duke of Hamilton, and the lords Athole and Tarbat, produced by the fear of punishment for their correspondence with the court of St Germain's, at the same time that they pretended to be the zealous partisans of the court of London. In prosecuting this design, he endeavours to throw upon the shoulders of the first mentioned noblemen, the contrivance of a project of which they knew as much as the Khan of Crim Tartary. He represents them as sending for Lord Lovat, their intimate friend, whom (probably by a miracle) this visionary writer represents as acquainted with the nature and particulars of their plot, at the distance of two hundred leagues, and

* *Memoirs of the Life of Simon, Lord Lovat.* Written by himself, p. 179.

at a time when the commerce of letters was rendered totally impracticable by the war. In the next place, by a miracle not less wonderful, he converts Lord Lovat to the popish religion, by the advice and command of his patrons, Queensberry, Argyle, Leven, and Carstairs, pillars of the presbyterian religion in Scotland; a most admirable means which this author has discovered for advancing the interests of the protestant succession.

“And upon this foundation, equally chimerical, false, scandalous, and diabolical, the author commences his narrative with calumniating Lord Lovat. He makes him, in the first place, guilty of a rape—a crime of which he was as innocent as the child unborn, and which the whole north of Scotland, where Lord Lovat has always been, and is at this day much loved and respected, knows to have had no foundation but in the malicious invention of Lord Athole;—in order to accumulate the crime of high treason against King William, with which he charged him; and to make himself master of his estate: for which tyranny the name of Athole is regarded with odium and horror, through the whole north of Scotland.

“The author proceeds with his ridiculous suppositions, and sends Lord Lovat into France, three years before he quitted his own country; not knowing, probably, that Lord Lovat obtained a pardon from King William; and that at the time of that prince’s death, he was in quiet possession of his estates, and about to commence a prosecution against Lord Athole, which would have reduced him to the same beggary as the young Lord Murrays, his brothers, not knowing that it was at the accession of Queen Anne, and her declared favouritism to Lord Athole and his other enemies, that Lord Lovat proclaimed his sovereign in his own province, and afterwards entered into an engagement with the most considerable of the loyal nobility and heads of clans, previous to his passing into France.”*

As the *exposé* in Fraser’s affair had rendered the duke of Queensberry very unpopular in Scotland, he was dismissed from his situation as one of the Scottish secretaries of state, and the marquis of Tweeddale was appointed to succeed him as lord high-commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which met on the sixth day of July, seventeen hundred and four. The friends of the duke, afraid that the dukes of Hamilton and Athole would make his connexion with Fraser the subject of a parliamentary investigation, entered into a negotiation with the friends of these noblemen, the result of which was a mutual arrangement, by which the latter agreed not to push the proposed examination, and the former in respect of such forbearance, promised to join the Cavaliers in opposing the succession of the crown on the house of Hanover, and other court measures.†

At the opening of the session a letter from the queen was read, ex-

* Memoirs, pp. 216—19.

† Lockhart, vol. I. p. 98.

horting the parliament to unity, and recommending an immediate settlement of the succession as in England, as necessary to establish peace and secure the protestant religion. Before the ministry, however, had time to bring on the question of the succession, the duke of Hamilton moved, "that this parliament will not proceed to the nomination of a successor to the crown, until we have had a previous treaty with England, in relation to our commerce, and other concerns with that nation." The ministry were greatly surprised and perplexed at a proposition which could not fail to be supported by the voice of the nation. The earl of Rothes, who had joined the court party, made a counter motion, that the parliament should, in the first place, proceed to the consideration of such conditions of government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution, by vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independence of the nation, after which they should take into consideration the other motion for a treaty previous to the nomination of a successor to the crown. This proposition, plausible enough, was no doubt intended to create a division among the Cavalier and country parties, which the ministry hoped would enable them eventually to get rid of the duke of Hamilton's motion; but Sir James Falconer of Phesdo, to counteract this design, ingeniously conjoined the two motions, so as to give full effect to each. After congratulating the house on the emulation displayed by the members to promote the interest and security of the nation, he said that he thought both the resolutions under consideration good and necessary, but as it would be a pity that they should jostle with one another, he moved that the house should not proceed to the nomination of a successor until a treaty should be concluded with England for regulating the commerce of Scotland, and settling other affairs with that nation; and further, that the parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of government for rectifying the constitution as might secure the religion, independence, and liberty of the nation, before proceeding to the nomination of a successor to the crown. This motion was supported by the whole of the Cavalier party, and unanimously opposed by that of the court. After a stormy debate, in which Fletcher of Salton took a prominent part, and gave a most affecting detail of the miseries which the union of the two crowns of Scotland and England had entailed upon Scotland, the earl of Rothes' motion was negatived by a vast majority.*

From the temper displayed in the Scottish parliament, it was obvious that without entering into a treaty with Scotland, it would be utterly impossible for the English ministry to carry the question of the succession in Scotland. To accomplish this the English parliament authorized the queen to nominate commissioners to treat with commissioners from Scotland; but the conduct of the parliament was by no means calculated to allay the jealousy entertained by the Scotch, of the interference of Eng-

* Lockhart, vol. I. p. 102.

land in imposing a foreign sovereign upon them. Instead of simply empowering the queen to appoint commissioners, the English parliament, instigated by the Scottish ministry, insolently directed the Scottish parliament in the choice of its commissioners, and they even prohibited their own commissioners to meet and treat with those of Scotland unless the parliament of Scotland allowed the queen to name these commissioners herself. And, as if this encroachment upon the liberties of an independent nation was not sufficiently insulting, all Scotsmen not settled in England, or in its service, were declared aliens, until the succession to the crown of Scotland should be settled on the Princess Sophia and her protestant heirs. Several prohibitory clauses against the trade of Scotland were also inserted in the act, which were to take effect about eight months thereafter if the Scottish parliament did not, before the appointed time, yield to the instructions of that of England.

To strengthen the government party the Scottish ministry was changed, and the duke of Queensberry was recalled to office, being appointed to the privy seal. The Cavaliers, thus deprived of the aid of the duke and his friends, to which they had been lately so much indebted, applied to the marquis of Tweeddale—who, with his displaced friends, had formed a party called the “*squadron volante*,” or flying squadron—to unite with them against the court; but he declined the proposal, as being inconsistent with the object for which it was said to be formed, namely, to keep the contending parties in parliament in check, and to vote only for such measures, by whatever party introduced, which should appear most beneficial to the country.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the court party, the Scottish ministry soon found themselves in a minority in the parliament, which was opened on the twenty-eighth day of June, seventeen hundred and five, by the duke of Argyle as commissioner. The motion of Sir James Falconer, which had hitherto remained a dead letter, was again renewed; but although the ministry was supported by the squadron in opposition to the motion, the cavaliers carried it by a great majority. The dukes of Hamilton and Athole were now desirous of pushing on the inquiry into the alleged plot, but by advice of the cavaliers, who insisted that such a proceeding would be a violation of the agreement entered into between them and the duke of Queensberry's friends, they desisted for a time. But the duke having prevailed upon such of his friends as had voted with the cavaliers in the beginning of the session to join the court party, the subject was introduced before the house in the shape of a motion, to know what answer the queen had sent to an address which had been voted to her in the preceding session, to send down to Scotland against the next session such persons as had been examined respecting the plot, and the papers connected therewith. The dukes of Hamilton and Athole vindicated themselves against the charge of being accessory to Fraser's proceedings, and the latter particularly, in a long speech, reprobated the conduct of the duke of

Queensberry, whom he openly accused of a design to ruin him. Neither the duke nor his friends made any answer to the charge, and Athole and Hamilton conceiving that they had cleared themselves sufficiently, allowed the subject to drop. The most important business of the session was the measure of the proposed union with England, an act for effecting which was passed, though not without considerable opposition.

Before the state of the vote upon this measure was announced, the duke of Athole, "in regard that by an English act of parliament made in the last sessions thereof, entitled an act for the effectual securing England from the dangers that may arise from several acts passed lately in Scotland, the subjects of this kingdom were adjudged aliens, born out of the allegiance of the queen, as queen of England, after the twenty-fifth day of December 1705," protested that, for saving the honour and interest of her majesty as queen of Scotland, and maintaining and preserving the undoubted rights and privileges of her subjects, no act for a treaty with England ought to pass without a clause being added thereto, prohibiting and discharging the commissioners that might be appointed for carrying on the treaty from departing from Scotland until the English parliament should repeal and rescind the obnoxious act alluded to. To this protest twenty-four peers, thirty-seven barons, and eighteen of the burgh representatives adhered. When the state of the vote was announced, the duke of Hamilton, to the infinite surprise of the cavaliers and the country party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left wholly to the queen. From twelve to fifteen members immediately exclaimed that the duke had deserted and basely betrayed his friends, and ran out of the house in rage and despair. A warm debate then ensued, in which Hamilton was roughly handled, and the inconsistency of his conduct exposed; but he persisted in his motion, which was carried by a majority of eight votes. Had the other members remained he would have found himself in a minority. The duke of Athole protested a second time for the reasons contained in his first protest, and twenty-one peers, thirty-three barons, and eighteen burgh representatives adhered to his second protest. The protesters consisted of most of the cavaliers and the country party, and the whole of the squadron. The protesters, however, were not discouraged, and they succeeded so far as to obtain an order of the house prohibiting the Scottish commissioners from treating until the clause in the English act, declaring the subjects of Scotland aliens, should be repealed, a resolution which had the desired effect, the English parliament rescinding the clause before the time fixed for its operation arrived.*

In terms of the powers vested in her by the parliaments of England and Scotland, the queen nominated commissioners, who met in the council chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the sixteenth day of

* Lockhart, Vol. I., pp. 131, 132, 133, 137, 140.

April, seventeen hundred and six. During their sittings by intervals, they were twice visited by the queen, who urged them to complete, with as little delay as possible, a treaty which, she anticipated, would be advantageous to both kingdoms. They, accordingly, proceeded to fulfil the great object for which they had been appointed, and on the twenty-second of July, the celebrated treaty of union was finished, and mutually signed by the contracting parties. By the second article of the treaty, it was declared that the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, in default of issue of the queen, should remain and continue to the Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants.

When the terms of the treaty became publicly known in Scotland, a shout of indignation was set up in every part of the kingdom, at a measure which, it was supposed, would destroy the independence of the nation; and when the Scottish parliament met for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, considerable rioting took place in different parts of the country, and large bodies of armed men threatened to march upon the capital, and disperse the assembly. Numerous addresses were sent to the parliament from every part of the kingdom against the Union, and considerable opposition was made by the dukes of Hamilton and Athole, Lord Belhaven, Fletcher of Salton, and others, but the court party, having obtained the support of the "Squadron," carried the measure by a great majority.

As the restoration of the son of James II. now appeared to the Scottish nation as necessary to preserve its independence, various combinations were entered into among the people to effect it. The inhabitants of the western shires, chiefly Cameronians, formerly the most determined supporters of the Protestant government, all at once became the most zealous partizans of the exiled family, whose Catholicity they showed themselves disposed altogether to overlook. Preparatory to more active measures for accomplishing their object, the ringleaders among them held several meetings, divided themselves into regiments, chose their officers, provided themselves with horses and arms, and, notwithstanding the religious asperity which had long existed between them and the inhabitants of the northern shires, offered to unite with them in any measures which might be devised for accomplishing the restoration of the young prince, who had now assumed the title of the Chevalier de St George.* The court of St Germain, fully aware of the strong national feeling which existed in favour of the prince, sent, in concert with the French king, one Hooke into Scotland to obtain intelligence, and to treat with the people for his restoration. This gentleman had been one of the duke of Monmouth's chaplains when he invaded England; but after the execution of that unfortunate nobleman, Hooke went to France, where he became a Catholic, and entered into the French service, in which he rose to the rank of Colonel. He had been in Scotland in seventeen hundred and five

* Lockhart, vol. I. p. 196.

on a previous mission to the heads of the Jacobite chiefs and the country party ; but though a man of sense, he conducted himself with such indiscretion, that he could only obtain general promises, from the parties he consulted, of their readiness to advance the prince's interest. The cavaliers, however, sent Captain Henry Straton, a gentleman in whom they placed great confidence, to France, in July the following year, to ascertain the extent of the aid they might expect from Louis.

Hooke, on this occasion, landed in the north of Scotland, about the end of February or beginning of March, seventeen hundred and seven, and took up a temporary abode in Slains Castle, the seat of the earl of Errol, high-constable of Scotland, where he was waited upon by the countess-dowager, the mother of the earl, her son being then absent from home. Instead of consulting, as he should have done, the principal chiefs upon the subject of his mission, Hooke at first confined himself to interviews with some gentlemen in the shires of Perth and Angus, by whom he was received with great favour and hospitality, and looked upon as a person of no ordinary importance. The attention thus paid him, flattered his vanity, in return for which he made them his confidants, and proceeded, in concert with them, to deliberate upon the mode of accomplishing a restoration. This party, however, had not the wisdom to conceal the negotiation with Hooke, whose presence in the country became consequently generally known. The result was, that the duke of Hamilton and others, conceiving themselves slighted, and alarmed at the imprudence of Hooke's friends, declined to correspond with him, and entered into direct communication with the court of St Germain itself.

As the French king was desirous of ascertaining the exact situation of affairs in Scotland, M. de Chamillard, his minister of war, had furnished Hooke with a paper of instructions, in the shape of questions, to which he was desired to obtain distinct answers, to enable his majesty to judge of the extent of the assistance required from him, and the probability of success. In answer to these questions, a memorial, addressed to the king of France, was drawn up, and signed by several noblemen and gentlemen, in which they stated that the greater part of the Scottish nation had always been disposed for the service of "its lawful king" ever since the revolution ; but that this disposition had now become universal, and that the shires of the west, which used to be the most disaffected, were now zealous to serve him. That to reap the benefit of so favourable a disposition, and of so happy a conjuncture, the presence of the king (the Chevalier) would be absolutely necessary, the people being unwilling to take arms without being sure of having him at their head—that the whole nation would rise upon his arrival—that he would become master of Scotland without opposition, and that the existing government would be entirely abolished—that of the numbers that they would raise, the memorialists would immediately despatch twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse and dragoons into England,

while the other peers and chiefs would assemble all their men in their respective shires, and that the general rendezvous of the troops on the north of the river Tay, should be at Perth, those of the western shires at Stirling, and those of the south and east at Dumfries and Dunse. As to the subsistence of the troops, they informed his majesty that they would require nothing from him, as the harvests of two years were to be found in the granaries, and that so great was its abundance, that a crown would purchase as much flour as would maintain a man two months—that there was also a great plenty of meat, beer and brandy in the kingdom, and cloth, linen, shoes and bonnets, sufficient to clothe a considerable number of troops. The principal articles they stood in most need of, were arms and money. Of the former, the memorialists begged his majesty to send them as many as would equip twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse or dragoons, together with a proportional quantity of ammunition, and also some pieces of artillery, bombs, &c. Of money, of which the country had been almost drained by the Darien speculation, by five years of famine, and by the constant residence of the nobility at London, they required a remittance of one hundred thousand pistoles, to enable them to march into England, and also a regular monthly subsidy during the war. In addition to these demands, they required that the Chevalier should be accompanied to Scotland by a body of eight thousand troops, to protect his person against any sudden attempt by the government forces. The memorialists concluded, by assuring his Most Christian Majesty of their resolution to bind themselves by the strictest and most sacred ties, to assist one another in what they deemed a common cause, to forget all family differences, and to concur sincerely, and with all their hearts, “without jealousy or distrust, like men of honour in so just and glorious an enterprise.”*

Having finished his negotiation, Hooke returned to France in the month of May, after assuring his friends that “the Pretender” would land in Scotland about August following. On arriving at the court of St Germain, Hooke gave the most flattering account of his reception, and of the zeal of the people in behalf of the Chevalier, and accused the duke of Hamilton and the other persons who had refused openly to commit themselves, of lukewarmness in the cause. The armament, promised by the king of France, should have been ready in August; but the court of Versailles contrived to put it off, from time to time, under various pretences. The fact appears to be, that Louis was indifferent about the matter, and, although he pretended that his object was to place the Chevalier upon the throne of his ancestors, his real object was to create a diversion in his own favour by embroiling Great Britain in a civil war. His reverses at Ramillies and Turin

* Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiation in Scotland in 1707—Edin. 1760. Pp. 69—75.

had induced him to send Hooke into Scotland to obtain information, but, having afterwards defeated the allies at Almanza, he was in hopes that he would be able to retrieve his affairs without the aid of the intended descent on Scotland.

To hasten the enterprise, the cavaliers sent the Honourable Charles Fleming, brother of the earl of Wigton, over to France with letters to his most Christian Majesty and the Chevalier, in consequence of which, preparations for the expedition were commenced at Dunkirk, where a squadron was collected under the command of the Chevalier de Forbin. When the news of these preparations reached England, the greatest exertions were made to meet the threatened danger. Both houses of parliament joined in an address to the queen, in which they pledged themselves to defend her with their lives and fortunes against the "pretended prince of Wales," and all her other enemies. They suspended the habeas corpus act, and passed a bill enacting, that all persons should take the oath of abjuration under the pain of being held as convicted recusants. They also passed another bill, releasing the Scottish clans from all vassalage to those chiefs who should appear in arms against her majesty; and "the Pretender" and his adherents were declared traitors and rebels. A large fleet was equipped and assembled at Deal with extraordinary promptitude, and despatched towards Dunkirk under the command of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley, and transports were engaged to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend. When this fleet, which the French had supposed to be destined for Lisbon, appeared off Mardyke, they were greatly surprised; and the embarkation of their troops, which had commenced, was immediately countermanded. The French admiral represented to his court the danger of proceeding with the expedition; but he received positive orders to finish the embarkation, and to sail with the first favourable wind. The Chevalier de St George, at taking farewell, was presented by Louis with a sword studded with costly diamonds, and sumptuous services of gold and silver plate, rich dresses, and other necessaries becoming his high station.

While the embarkation was going on, Mr Fleming and a gentleman of the name of Arnott were separately despatched for Scotland from Dunkirk, on the evening of the sixth of March seventeen hundred and eight, in two frigates, with instructions from the Chevalier to the Jacobite chiefs. Fleming arrived on the northern coast on the thirteenth, and, when about two leagues off the land, entered a fishing boat which landed him at Slains castle, where he met the earl of Errol, who received the intelligence of the expedition with great pleasure. On perusing the Chevalier's instructions, he immediately despatched a messenger to Mr Malcolm of Grange, in Fife, with orders to have a boat and pilots in readiness at the mouth of the Frith of Forth to go on board the first vessel that should give the signal agreed on.

In the mean time, the British fleet having been forced, by stress of

weather, off their station on the fourteenth of March, the expedition sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk; but it was detained in Newport-pits in consequence of a change in the wind, till the nineteenth, when it again set sail with a fair breeze for Scotland. The expedition consisted of seven men-of-war, two of which were fitted up as transports, and twenty-one frigates, having on board five thousand one hundred troops, under the command of Monsieur le Comte de Gassè, who, on the last-mentioned day, received from the French king the patent of a marshal of France, and assumed the name of Mantignon. While at Newport, three of the frigates, which had received some damage, returned to Dunkirk; but, at a council of war, held in the apartment of the Chevalier, it was resolved, at his desire, to proceed without them, although these vessels had eight hundred troops on board, and a considerable quantity of arms and provisions. At the same council it was also determined to sail directly to the Frith of Forth, and to disembark the troops at Burntisland, whence it was proposed to send a detachment to take possession of Stirling.*

The French fleet having been observed in Newport-pits from the steeples of Ostend, a vessel was immediately despatched thence by Major-General Cadogan to inform Sir George Byng of their having left Dunkirk: Sir George went immediately in quest of the enemy. The French fleet, favoured by a strong and fair wind, reached the Frith on the evening of the twenty-third, without seeing any of the English squadron, and anchored off Crail, the commander intending to proceed up the Frith the following morning; but he had been anticipated by the *Proteus*, one of the three vessels which had returned to Dunkirk, and which, being a superior sailer, had reached the Frith before him, and had given notice of the approach of the French fleet to the friends of the Chevalier, who lived on the coast, by firing five guns, the concerted signal by which the friends of the prince along that coast were to be apprized of his arrival. Malcolm of Grange, who had been for some days anxiously looking out for the fleet, went immediately on board this vessel with a pilot.

The resolution of M. de Forbin to proceed up the Frith next morning, was, however, put an end to, by the appearance, at day break, of the English fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail, standing in for the Frith. Alarmed for the safety of his ships, the French commander immediately cut his cables, and by favour of a strong land breeze which fortunately sprung up, stood out to sea under full sail, having previously given orders to the different ships, in case of separation, to rendezvous at Cromarty, or Inverness. The French vessels being lighter and cleaner, outstripped the English in sailing, and all of them escaped, with the exception of the *Salisbury*, a ship formerly captured from the English, which was taken. On board of this vessel were

* M. D'Andrezel's Account in Hooke p. 139.

Lord Griffin, the earl of Middleton's two sons, M. La Vie, a Major-General, Colonel Francis Wauchope, some other officers, and between three and four hundred soldiers. On the following day, the French commander finding himself out of sight of the enemy, and all his vessels together, with the exception of the Salisbury, he consulted with the Marshal de Mantignon, on the expediency of landing at some place in the north of Scotland, and proposed Inverness. The Chevalier, who was so desirous of landing, that he had, though in vain, entreated M. de Forbin, the preceding day, to put him on shore, though his domestics alone should accompany him, received this proposal with great satisfaction. The fleet accordingly, aided by a favourable wind, steered to the north during the whole of the twenty-fifth; but at ten o'clock at night, the wind suddenly changed to the north, and blew directly in their teeth with considerable violence. As the storm continued the whole of the following day, and as M. de Forbin was afraid that the fleet would be dispersed, and might, when separated, fall into the hands of the enemy, a council was held, at which it was unanimously resolved, with the entire concurrence of the Chevalier, to return to Dunkirk, where the expedition arrived on the seventh of April.

Such was the result of an enterprise, which, but for the merest accidental circumstance, might have been crowned with the most complete success; for had the expedition arrived only a few hours earlier in the Frith of Forth, the whole troops, arms and ammunition, would have been landed without opposition. Such were the dispositions of the people of Scotland in favour of "the Pretender," and so disaffected had they become towards the government, that a universal rising would undoubtedly have taken place in his support had he set his foot in Scotland. No effectual resistance could have been offered to him by the regular troops, which did not exceed twenty-five hundred men; and as little reliance could be placed in them, from their participating generally in the national feeling; the earl of Leven, the commander-in-chief, had determined to retire to Carlisle, or Berwick, with such forces as would accompany him.* The news of the sailing of the expedition, created a panic in

* Alluding to the appearance of the French fleet in the Frith, Lockhart says, "It is impossible to describe the different appearance of people's sentiments; all this day (23d March) generally speaking, in every person's face was to be observed an air of jollity and satisfaction, excepting the general, (Leven) those concerned in the government, and such as were deeply dipt in the revolution. These indeed were in the greatest terror and confusion. And it was no great wonder that the earl of Leven did afterwards, in one of his letters to the secretaries of state, complain that the Jacobites were so uppish he durst hardly look them in the face as they walked in the streets of Edinburgh; for uppish they were indeed, expecting soon to have an occasion of repaying him and his fellow-rebels in the same coin he and they had treated them for these twenty years past. But next day advice was sent from Sir George Byng, that he had come up with and was then in pursuit of the French fleet, and then it was that every body was in the greatest pain and anxiety imaginable; some fearing it would, and others that it would not, determine as it did. In this perplexity were people when, on the next day, being Sunday, a great number of tall ships were seen sailing up the Frith. This put our general in

England, which was followed by a run upon the bank, which would have been obliged to have suspended its payments had not the most extraordinary exertions been made to support its credit.

The principal friends of the Chevalier de St George, and every person of any distinction in Scotland, suspected of favouring his pretensions, were, upon the failure of the expedition, immediately seized and committed to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and the common jails, whence many of them were transmitted to England, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, or in Newgate. Among those who were carried to London, was the duke of Hamilton, who, taking advantage of a quarrel between the Lord-treasurer Godolphin, and the Whigs, obtained, by offering his support to the latter in the election of the Scottish representative peers, not only his own liberation, but also that of all the other prisoners, with the exception of Stirling of Kier, Seaton of Touch, Stirling of Carden, and other gentlemen of Stirlingshire, who, on receiving intelligence that the Chevalier had landed, had mounted their horses and advanced in a body towards Edinburgh, to support him. These last were brought to trial for high treason, as having appeared in arms against the government; but as no proof was brought against them, they were acquitted.* The fact is, that the queen's advisers, fully aware of the great danger which the government had escaped, and the risks to which it was still exposed, were disposed to act a very lenient part, and were afraid, under existing circumstances, to commit themselves by sacrificing any of the disaffected to a doubtful, and, as it must have appeared to them, a precarious expediency.

For a time, the idea of a restoration seems to have been abandoned; but the systematic attacks made by the High Church party in England, upon the principles of the revolution, and the popular excitement raised against the Whig ministry in consequence of Dr Sacheverel's trial, raised anew the expectations of the Jacobites, which were still farther elevated by the expulsion of the Whigs from office in seventeen hundred and ten, by the intrigues of the Tories. Although the queen on opening the new parliament, which met on the twenty-fifth of November, de-

such a terror and confusion as can scarcely be well expressed: he drew up his army in battle array on the sands of Leith, as if he'd oppose a landing, and in this posture did he remain for several hours, when at last his fears, which truly had almost distracted him, vanished by the landing of a boat, which acquainted him that it was the English fleet returned from chasing the French. For Sir George Byng, after a day's pursuit, finding the French out-sailed him, tackt about for the Frith, which was the place he designed chiefly to guard; besides, he had sailed so unprovided that most of his ships wanted water and provisions. Here he lay several weeks, and for the most part the wind was easterly, so that he could not well have sailed down the Frith, and the French might and every body believed would, have landed in the north, or sailed round and landed in the west; but instead of that they went sneakingly home, without doing any good, but on the contrary, much harm to the king, his country and themselves."—Vol. I. pp. 243, 244.

* Lockhart.

clared to both houses that she would employ such persons only as were warmly attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover; yet it was generally understood that she was inclined to favour the pretensions of her brother, the Chevalier de St George. As his religion was, in fact, the only bar in the way of his succession, she endeavoured, but without success, to induce him to abandon it. "You see (she observed to the duke of Buckingham, when speaking of her brother,) he does not take the least step to oblige me. I have no reason to think he values me or my kingdom, therefore I shall give it to the Elector of Hanover." On another occasion, when warmly pressed by the duke, she replied, "What would you have me to do? You know, as the law stands, a Papist cannot inherit the crown, and, therefore, any will I may make will be to no purpose; the law gives all to Hanover; and therefore I had better do that with a good grace which I cannot help. He may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than the Elector."* The Tories were by no means averse to her majesty's views of a successor, but afraid of a reaction in public opinion in favour of the Whigs, who were endeavouring to excite the fears of the nation by raising a no-popery cry, they not only carefully abstained from any act which might be considered as favouring the claims of "the Pretender;" but even appeared as if hostile to them. Indeed, so desirous were some of the Tory members of the house of commons to settle the crown upon his head, that they required a mere profession of Protestantism from him, till he should be firmly seated on the throne, after which he might, they said, again resume the exercise and profession of his religion. But the prince disdained to act such a hypocritical part.†

In Scotland, however, little reserve was shown, a remarkable instance of which occurred in the Faculty of Advocates, which body accepted from the dutchess of Gordon a silver medal, having on one side an impression of the head of the Chevalier de St George, and on the reverse a representation of the British islands, with the motto, "*Reddite.*" At presenting this treasonable device, a motion thanking her grace for her gift was carried, after a warm debate, by a majority of sixty-three voices against

* Stuart Papers, July, 1712. Vol. ii. p. 327.

† Alluding to the prince's refusal to concur in this unprincipled design, Lord John Russell, (*Memoirs of the affairs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht*, Vol. i. p. 261.) observes, "I confess I think his decision does him honour. A person who is indifferent to religion may change his outward faith without much diminution of his honesty, but he who is thoroughly persuaded of the doctrines of his belief, ought not to renounce them for any worldly interest. Any sacrifice of State policy may be complied with out of respect to the opinions of others; but a change of profession on the most important of all subjects, cannot be made by a sincere believer in his faith, without a conscious postponement of his eternal welfare to his temporal advantage. And mankind will naturally argue, that he who would sell his soul for a great interest, will forfeit his word and honour for a small one."†

† See a letter from the Prince, Macpherson, Vol. ii. p. 525.

twelve. Dundas of Arniston, to whom the task of conveying the vote was intrusted, thanked her grace for having presented the Faculty with a medal of their sovereign, and stated a hope that she would very soon be enabled to present them with a second medal struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family, and the finishing of usurpation, rebellion, and whiggery. This proceeding created an extraordinary sensation, and Sir David Dalrymple, the lord advocate, was directed by the ministry to inquire into the matter. The Faculty grew alarmed, disclaimed the conduct of Dundas and of Horne, another member with whom they alleged the transaction originated, and by a solemn resolution declared their attachment to the queen and the protestant succession. To satisfy, in some measure, the court of Hanover, the resident of which at the British court had presented a memorial to the queen desiring that Dundas and his party might be prosecuted, the lord advocate was dismissed from office, because he had been remiss in bringing the delinquents to justice; but no instructions were given to his successor to prosecute them.

The remaining years of Queen Anne's reign were chiefly occupied with party struggles which embittered her existence and impaired her constitution. The Tories disunited among themselves, split latterly into two factions, which were respectively headed by Harley, earl of Oxford, and Henry St John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. The Whigs, on the other hand, united, active and vigorous, pressed hard upon them, and employed every art to inflame the people against the authors of their disgrace. Popery and the Pretender were the never-ceasing topics with which they endeavoured to enlist the feelings of the nation in their favour, and the duke of Argyle, in a warm debate which took place in the house of peers on a question proposed by the earl of Wharton, "Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" offered to prove that the lord-treasurer had remitted a sum of money annually to the Highland Jacobite chiefs. Oxford did not deny the charge, but defended himself by saying, that he had only adopted the policy of King William, who had granted yearly pensions to the heads of the clans, the better to secure their obedience to the government. The fate of the Tory ministry was at length sealed by the removal of Oxford and the death of the queen, who survived that event only a few days. Fatigued by a long attendance at a cabinet council held immediately after the dismissal of the lord-treasurer, she was thrown into a lethargic disorder, which terminated her existence on the morning of the first of August, seventeen hundred and fourteen, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. With the exception of her dereliction of duty towards her father, which, from the circumstances in which she was placed, may admit of some slight palliation, she left behind her an un-

blemished reputation, and though not possessed of much genius or vigour of mind, she wielded the sceptre with greater skill than is usually to be found in sovereigns, who, like her, have allowed themselves to be controlled by favourites.

CHAPTER XII.

Proceedings of the Whig ministry—Declaration of the Chevalier de St George—Meeting of the Parliament—Arrival of George I. in England—Conduct of the earl of Mar—New Parliament assembled—Intrigues of the Jacobites—Character of the earl of Mar—Departs from England to erect the standard of revolt in Scotland—Summons a meeting of the Jacobites under the pretence of a hunting-match—Addresses the meeting, and informs them of his designs—Principal Jacobite chiefs summoned to appear at Edinburgh—The Chevalier de St George proclaimed by Mar, who raises the standard of revolt in Braemar—Sends a circular letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire—Issues a declaration—Letter by Mar to the bailie of Kildrummy—Death of Louis XIV.—Manifesto of the Jacobite chiefs.

THE dismissal of the earl of Oxford, from the office of lord-high-treasurer, was gratifying to the Jacobites, whose expectations he had disappointed, and they naturally waited with anxiety for the appointment of his successor, whom they confidently imagined would be Bolingbroke, his rival, who was supposed, on juster grounds, to favour their views, and to whom they had transferred their confidence. But all their hopes were disappointed by the promotion of the duke of Shrewsbury to the treasury, a nobleman distinguished for modesty and disinterestedness, and a devoted attachment to his country. This appointment was owing to the determined conduct of the dukes of Somerset and Argyle, who, on hearing of the dangerous state of the queen, and that the committee of the council were assembled at Kensington on the thirtieth of July, had repaired to the palace and entered the council chamber without being summoned. Their unexpected presence excited some surprise, particularly in Bolingbroke; but on the invitation of the duke of Shrewsbury, who thanked them for their attendance at such a critical juncture, they took their places at the council board. The meeting, thereupon, unanimously agreed to recommend Shrewsbury to the queen as the fittest person to fill the office of lord-treasurer, and she accordingly presented him with the white staff and requested him, at same time, to retain the staff of lord-chamberlain, which he offered to return.

To counteract still farther the schemes of Bolingbroke, all the privy counsellors in London, or the neighbourhood, had been invited, on the proposal of Somerset and Argyle, to attend the council without distinction of party, in consequence of which, Lord Somers, and many other Whig noblemen, repaired to Kensington. The presence of such a number of

the Whigs completely overawed the Tories, who, confused, distracted, and disunited, were either unable or afraid to oppose the measures proposed by the former for effectually securing the protestant succession, and gave a tacit acquiescence to them. Every precaution, in short, had been taken to prevent any movement of the Jacobite party in favour of the Chevalier, and an express was sent to the elector of Hanover, informing him that the physicians despaired of the queen's life, and desiring him to repair to England, with all convenient speed.

As soon as the death of the queen was announced, the lords of the privy council met, and drew up and issued a proclamation the same day, declaring that by the death of Queen Anne, the imperial crowns of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, had "solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick, Lunenburg," in consequence of which, the prince was immediately proclaimed in London, by the heralds at arms, with the usual solemnities, and on Thursday the fifth of August, the same ceremony was repeated at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the deputy-lord-lyon, king at arms, in presence of the magistrates and town council of the city, the judges of the supreme courts, a considerable number of the nobility, and a large assemblage of the inhabitants. The Jacobites preserved a prudent silence on this occasion, but the supporters of the government at Edinburgh, took care, notwithstanding, to provide against any contingency. They, accordingly, cut off a part of the wooden bridge before the castle gate, and drew up the remaining part to cover the gate itself. They also threw up an intrenchment between the gate and the castle wall, on which they posted a party of armed soldiers. In addition to these precautions, Major-general Wightman, the commander of the forces, ordered the different detachments quartered at Dundee, and other places, to join his camp in the vicinity of Edinburgh, with which order they immediately complied.*

Pursuant to an act of the late reign, the parliament met on the day the queen died. The first four days were occupied in swearing in the members, and on the fifth of August, the parliament was opened by the lord chancellor, in name of the lords justices, on whom the interim administration of the government had devolved by an act of the fourth and fifth of Queen Anne. Both houses thereafter voted loyal addresses to his majesty, in which, after congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, they expressed their anxiety for his safe and speedy arrival in Great Britain. To these addresses, his majesty returned most gracious answers, which were reported to both houses on the twenty-fifth of August, on which day the parliament was prorogued till the twenty-third day of September.

When the Chevalier de St George heard of the death of his sister, Queen Anne, he set off from his residence in Lorraine, to Paris, to,

* Rae's History of the late Rebellion, Dumfries, 1718, p. 63.

crave the aid of the king of France, in vindication of his hereditary rights; but Louis declined to interfere, on the ground that he had, by the treaty of Utrecht, acknowledged the protestant succession. Disappointed in his application, he retired first to Luneville, and afterwards to Plombières, whence on the twenty-ninth of August, he issued a declaration as King James the Third, asserting his indefeasible right to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland, and solemnly protesting against every act that had been already done, or that should thereafter be done to the prejudice of his hereditary rights. In this declaration, he refers to a previous one which he issued on the eighth of October, seventeen hundred and four, after the death of King William, and to a protest dated from St Germain, on the twenty-fifth of April, seventeen hundred and twelve, when he found that a treaty of peace was about being concluded without any regard to him, in which protest he also maintained his right to the said crowns, and protested against whatever might be stipulated in the proposed treaty to his prejudice. He says, that although he had been obliged by the treaty to remove from France, that he had still continued to have his kingdoms and his people in view, and that he had never ceased to hope, that God would in time open his people's eyes, and convince them not only of the notorious injustice done to the crown and him, but of the dangerous consequences thereof for themselves; and that as he could not see, without grief and sorrow, their blood and treasure lavished in the late war, in opposition to his rights, so he could not now with less sorrow, see them exposed to be subjected to an arbitrary power, and become a prey to foreigners—that the settlement of the succession upon one who was so far removed from the regular line, was opposed to the maxims of the English constitution—that the elector of Brunswick was, besides, a foreigner, a powerful prince, and absolute in his own country—that he was ignorant of the laws, manners, customs, and language, and supported by a good many of his own people—that there had been many thousands of aliens domiciled in England, for the last thirty years, who would be ready to stand by him upon all occasions—that the subversion of such a sacred and fundamental principle as hereditary right, would lead to endless wars and divisions, and that as there were many other princes, who had better pretensions to the crown than the elector of Brunswick, the nation could never enjoy any lasting peace or happiness, till the succession was again settled “in the rightful line.”*

Meanwhile, certain movements in Scotland, among the friends of the Chevalier, indicated to the government that an insurrection was intended. Bodies of armed men were seen marching towards the Highlands, and a party of Highlanders appeared in arms near Inverlochy, which was, however, soon dispersed by a detachment from the garrison. In this situation of matters, the lords justices sent down to Scotland a

* Culloden Papers, pp. 30, 31.

considerable number of half pay officers, chiefly of the Scots regiments, to officer the militia of the country, under the direction of Major-general Whitham, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. These prompt measures taken by the government, alarmed the Jacobites, who, after several consultations, retired to their homes. The duke of Gordon was, by order of the justices, confined in the city of Edinburgh, and the marquis of Huntly, and Lord Drummond, in their respective residences of Brahen, and castle Drummond. The last, on hearing that an order for his seizure had arrived, fled to the Highlands, but offered bail for his good behaviour. At the same time, Captain Campbell of Glendarnel, who had obtained a commission from the late Tory administration, to raise an independent company in the Highlands, was apprehended at Inverlochy, and carried prisoner to the capital, and Sir Donald M'Donald of Slait, was also seized and committed to the castle of Edinburgh.* As the lords justices had received information that the Chevalier intended to land in the kingdom, they, on the fifteenth of September, issued a proclamation, in terms of an act passed in the last session of parliament, offering a reward of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for his apprehension, should he land or attempt to land in Great Britain.†

King George, after vesting the government of his German dominions in a council, embarked at Orange Polder for England on the sixteenth day of September, and landed at Greenwich on the eighteenth, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and by the lords justices, and a large number of the nobility and other persons of distinction. Among those who presented themselves on this occasion was the earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, but the king had been so prepossessed against this nobleman, and indeed against all the heads of the Tory party, that he did not vouchsafe even to notice him. The earl suspecting that means had been used to prejudice his majesty against him, had, in order to take off any unfavourable impression which these might have produced upon the king's mind, written a letter to George when in Holland on his way to England, congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, stating the services which he had rendered to the government, and assuring his majesty that he should find him as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of his family, which had been always loyal, had been to the crown, or as he had been to his late mistress, the queen.‡ With the same view, it is supposed, or to throw the go-

* Rae, p. 77.

† Gazette, 25th September, 1714.

‡ The following is a copy of the original letter as published by Sir Richard Steele:—

“ Sir,

“ Having the happiness to be your majesty's subject, and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your secretaries of state, I beg leave to kiss your majesty's hand, and congratulate your happy accession to the throne, which I would done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it personally ere now.

vernment off its guard, Mar caused a letter to be addressed to him by some of the heads and branches of the Jacobite clans expressive of their loyalty to King George, and declaring, that as they had been always ready to follow his lordship's directions in serving Queen Anne, they were equally ready to concur with him in faithfully serving his majesty.* But the prejudices of the king against Mar were too deeply rooted to be overcome, and within eight days after the king's arrival in

I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your majesty, and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late queen's servants whom your ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr Harley and the earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your majesty; and your ministers carrying so to me, was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them and being known to them.

I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties here too often occasion; but I hope your majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations.

The part I acted in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the crown was settled for Scotland on your majesty's family, when I had the honour to serve as secretary of state for that kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your majesty out of dispute.

My family have had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the crown, and have had the care of the king's children, (when kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your majesty's grandmother when young, and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters, which I still have under her own hand.

I had the honour to serve her late majesty in one capacity or other ever since her accession to the crown. I was happy in a good mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my services; and since your majesty's happy accession to the crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong and have some interest in.

Your majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of my family have been to the crown, or as I have been to my late mistress, the queen. And I beg your majesty may be so good not to believe any misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party-hatred, and my zeal for the interest of the crown, doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour and protection.

As your accession to the crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your majesty's reign be long and prosperous; and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence among them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is, with the humblest duty and respect,

Sir,
Your majesty's most faithful, most dutiful, and
most obedient subject and servant,

MAR."

Whitehall, Aug. 30, O. S. 1714."

* This document, which was signed by the chief of Maclean, Macdonell of Glengarry, Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonell of Keppoch, Sir Donald Macdonald, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, M^rLeod of Contulick, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, and M^rPherson of Cluny, is as follows:—

"My Lord,

"So soon as we heard of the afflicting news of the death of her late majesty, Queen Anne, it did exceedingly comfort us, that, after so good and great a queen, who had the hearts and consulted the true happiness of all her people, we were to be governed by his sacred majesty, King George, a prince so brightly adorned with all royal virtues, that Britain, under his royal administration, shall still be flourishing at

England, Mar was dismissed from office, and the duke of Montrose appointed in his stead. It was very natural for the king to prefer the Whig party, by whose influence he had been raised to the throne; but unfortunately for the nation, he carried this predilection too far. A wise and prudent prince would have endeavoured to conciliate the adverse faction by acts of kindness, but George turned his back upon the entire body of the Tories, and threw himself completely into the arms of the Whigs, who alone shared in the royal favour, and who used every art to confirm their own interest, and extend their connexions. The consequence was, that a spirit of the most violent discontent was excited throughout the whole kingdom, and the populace, led on by the Tories or Jacobites, raised tumults in different parts of the kingdom. The Chevalier de St George availing himself of this excitement, transmitted by the French mail copies of the manifesto, or declaration, which he had issued from Plombieres to the chief nobility, particularly the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Argyle, who delivered them to the secretaries of state. The king, imagining that the duke of Lorraine was privy to the preparation and transmission of the manifesto, refused an audience to the Marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke; but although the duke, on being informed by his minister of the circumstance, denied most pointedly that he was accessory to the affair, and declared that the Chevalier took up his residence in Lorraine by the directions of the king of France; the king persisted in refusing an audience to De Lamberti till his master should remove the Chevalier from his dominions.

home, and able to hold the balance in the affairs of Europe.* Allow us, my Lord, to please ourselves with this agreeable persuasion, that his majesty's royal and kindly influence shall reach to us, who are the most remote, as well as to others of his subjects in this island. We are not ignorant that there are some people forward to misrepresent us, from particular private views of their own, and who, to reach their own ends against us, on all occasions, endeavour to make us, in the Highlands of Scotland, pass for disaffected persons.

Your lordship has an estate and interest in the Highlands, and is so well known to bear good will to your neighbours, that in order to prevent any ill impressions which malicious and ill-designing people may at this juncture labour to give of us, we must beg leave to address your lordship, and entreat you to assure the government, in our names, and in that of the rest of the clans, who, by distance of place, could not be present at the signing of this letter, of our loyalty to his sacred majesty, King George. And we do hereby declare to your lordship, that as we were always ready to follow your directions in serving Queen Anne, so we will now be equally forward to concur with your lordship in faithfully serving King George. And we entreat your lordship would advise us how we may best offer our duty to his majesty upon his coming over to Britain; and on all occasions we will beg to receive your counsel and direction how we may be most useful to his royal government.

We are, with all truth and respect," &c.

* There is little difficulty in perceiving, by comparing this letter with that written by Mar to the king, that it is the production of Mar himself, though said to be drawn up by his brother, Lord Grange. "The balance in the affairs of Europe," an expression since changed into that of the "balance of power," is a phrase which could have occurred only to a secretary of state. What calamities have been inflicted upon Europe since the sway of the *Grand Monarque* in attempts to adjust "this balance," and yet the scales vibrate as much as ever!

The parliament having been dissolved, the king, in the month of January, seventeen hundred and fifteen, issued an extraordinary proclamation, calling a new parliament in which proclamation he complained of the evil designs of the disaffected, and of the misrepresentation of his principles and conduct, which had been industriously circulated throughout the kingdom, and expressed his hopes that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of the kingdoms, and ease of the people for the future, and therein would have a particular regard to such "as showed a firmness to the protestant succession when it was in danger." In order to secure the interest of those in civil and military employments in the elections, a proclamation was issued on the same day, continuing all persons who had been duly invested in their offices, civil or military, before the demise of the queen, and who had not been since removed therefrom, for the space of six months from the date of the proclamation, unless his majesty should see cause to remove them sooner. A warmly contested election followed in England, but although the Tories made every exertion, and set up the usual shout of the church in danger, a cry which was responded to by the populace in many places, a majority of Whigs was returned. The Whigs were still more successful in Scotland, where a majority of the sixteen peers, and forty out of forty-five members returned to the commons, were in the interest of the government. The principal struggle in Scotland was in Inverness-shire, between M'Kenzie of Preston-hall, who was supported by Glengarry and the other Jacobite chiefs, and Forbes of Culloden, brother of the celebrated President Forbes, who carried the election by the interest of Brigadier-General Grant, and the friends of Lord Lovat.

The new parliament assembled on the nineteenth day of March at Westminster, and was for some time chiefly occupied in investigating the conduct of the late ministers, against some of whom measures of extreme rigour were resolved upon ; but these proceedings were interrupted by the necessity of devising means for the suppression of a growing spirit of discontent and disaffection, which seemed to gain ground daily in England, of which an insurrection in Scotland, and an invasion from abroad, seemed about to ensue as inevitable results. To put an end to future rioting, a bill was passed, by which it was declared, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, riotously, tumultuously, and unlawfully assembled, should continue together for an hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, by proclamation being publicly read,—and of which a form was given in the act, they should be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. When the king attended in the house of lords on the thirteenth of July, to give his assent to this and other bills, he informed both houses, that a rebellion had actually begun at home, and that an invasion was threatened from abroad, and he, therefore, solicited the commons to enable him to

provide for the defence of the kingdom. The preparations of the Chevalier de St George for a descent upon Great Britain, were indeed already far advanced. Elated by the intelligence which had been sent him from England by the Tories, of the disaffection of the people to the government, and by the promises of support which he had received from them, should he land in Great Britain, the prince had applied a second time to Louis for succour, who, notwithstanding the treaty of Utrecht, supplied him privately with money, and allowed a ship to be fitted out for him, at his own expense, in the port of Havre.* The cause of the Chevalier had now been openly espoused by the duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, both of whom having retired to France, had been attainted by the British parliament without a hearing, and were busily employed corresponding with the Tories of England. These intrigues and preparations were early discovered by the earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, and communicated by him to the ministry. Proceeding upon this information, the parliament suspended the Habeas Corpus act, and offered a reward of one hundred thousand pounds to any person or persons who should seize the Pretender, dead or alive. Great naval and military preparations were made, and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

As early as May, a report was current among the Jacobites of Scotland of the Chevalier's design to make a descent, in consequence of which they began to bestir themselves, by providing arms, horses, &c. Lockhart of Carnwath, a very warm partizan of the Chevalier, went to Edinburgh in August, where he met Mr Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, who informed him that he had been sent to Edinburgh by some of the Chevalier's friends in Stirlingshire and other places, to obtain and bring them intelligence of the state of affairs, and what was intended to be done, that they might concert measures accordingly. Lockhart also learnt that a gentleman of the name of Paterson had just arrived from London, with an express from the earl of Mar to Captain Straton, who had been sent over to France by the Jacobites in seventeen hundred and five. Walkinshaw and Lockhart repeatedly applied to Straton for an interview, but he declined to see them; but having met with Mr Hall, a Catholic priest, who showed them a letter he had received the same day by post from Father Innes at Paris, which threw no light on the Chevalier's motions, they separated, and Lockhart returned home to his own house, in the county of Edinburgh. While "solacing" himself, as he says, with the expectation of hearing "great and good news," he was surrounded about four days thereafter, at three o'clock in the morning, by a strong detachment of Lord Shannon's regiment. He was carried him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, by virtue of a warrant "under the Elector of Hanover's own hand." For a re-

* Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir Wm. Wyndham, deservedly reckoned one of the best written works in the English language."

hension of Lockhart served as a signal to the other Jacobites in Scotland, against whom warrants were issued, all of whom escaped, with the exception of the earls of Hume and Wigton, who were taken up, and also committed prisoners to the castle.*

Of John Erskine, the eleventh earl of Mar, the chief leader in the ensuing insurrection, it may now be proper to say a few words. Following the footsteps of his father, who joined the revolution party, merely because he considered it his interest so to do; the young earl, on entering into public life, attached himself to the party then in power, at the head of which was the duke of Queensberry, the leader of the Scottish Whigs. He took the oaths and his seat in Parliament in September, sixteen hundred and ninety-six, sworn in a privy councillor the following year, and was afterwards appointed to the command of a regiment of foot, and invested with the order of the Thistle. In seventeen hundred and four, when the Whigs were superseded by the country party, the earl, pursuant to the line of conduct he intended to follow, of making his politics subservient to his interest, immediately paid court to the new administration, by placing himself at the head of such of the duke of Queensberry's friends as opposed the marquis of Tweeddale and his party. In this situation he showed so much dexterity, and managed his opposition with so much art and address, that he was considered by the Tories as a man of probity, and well inclined to the exiled family. Afterwards, when the Whig party came again into power, he gave them his support, and became very zealous in promoting all the measures of the court, particularly the treaty of union, for which he presented the draught of an act in parliament, in seventeen hundred and five. To reward his exertions, he was, after the prorogation of the parliament, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, instead of the marquis of Annandale, who was displaced, because he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the *Squadron*, who were inclined to support the succession to the crown without, rather than with the proposed union. His lordship was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers in seventeen hundred and seven, and re-elected at the general election the following year, and in seventeen hundred and ten, and thirteen. By the share he had taken in bringing about the union, Mar had rendered himself very unpopular in Scotland; but he endeavoured to regain the favour of his countrymen, by sending a deputation of Scottish members, consisting of the duke of Argyll, himself, Cockburn, younger of Ormiston, and Lockhart of Carnwath, which waited on queen Anne in seventeen hundred and twelve, to inform her of their resolution to move for a repeal of the union with England. When the earl of Findlater brought forward a motion for repeal in the house of lords, Mar spoke strongly in favour of it, and pressed the dissolution of the union as the only means to preserve the

peace of the island.* He was made a privy-councillor in seventeen hundred and eight, and on the death of the duke of Queensberry in seventeen hundred and thirteen, the earl was again appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and thus, for the second time, enlisted himself under the banners of Toryism, but an end was put to his political tergiversation by his abrupt and unceremonious dismissal from office by George I., and he vowed revenge.

Though not possessed of shining talents, he made ample amends for their deficiencies by artifice and an insinuating and courteous deportment, and managed his designs with such prudence and circumspection as to render it extremely difficult to ascertain his object when he desired concealment; by which conduct "he showed himself," in the opinion of a contemporary, "to be a man of good sense, but bad morals."† The versatility of his politics was perhaps owing rather to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed than to any innate viciousness of disposition. He was a Jacobite from principle, but as the fortunes of his house had been greatly impaired in the civil war by its attachment to the Stuarts, and, as upon his entrance into public life, he found the cause of the exiled family at a low ebb, he sought to retrieve the losses which his ancestors had sustained; while, at the same time, he gratified his ambition, by aspiring to power, which he could only hope to acquire by attaching himself to the existing government. The loss of a place of five thousand pounds a-year, without any chance of ever again enjoying the sweets of office, was gall and wormwood to such a man. This disappointment, and the studied insult he had received from the king, operating upon a selfish and ambitious spirit, drove him into open rebellion, with no other view than the gratification of his revenge. But whatever were his qualifications in the cabinet, he was without military experience, and consequently unfit to command an army, as the result has shown.

On the eve of Mar's departure from England to place himself at the head of the intended insurrection in Scotland, he resolved to show himself at court; and, accordingly, he appeared in the presence of King George on the first of August, with all the complaisance of a courtier, and with that affability of demeanour for which he was so distinguished. What his motives were for thus needlessly exposing himself open to the charge of studied duplicity by confronting the sovereign whose throne he was about to attempt to overthrow, is difficult to conjecture. Was it to solace his offended vanity by showing the world the hardihood of his determination to undertake a revolt, that he had the cool daring in presence of the king to look in the face the man against whom he had vowed to wage war? Or was his object, in thus appearing before the king, to

* Lockhart, Vol. I. p. 436.



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